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EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

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Prize Essay
by
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and
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Translated by
A. J. PRESSLAND
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AUTHOR'S NOTE

This first English translation of my essay, "Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung der Deutschen Jugend," was made at my request, and has been reviewed by me with the translator. It is the only authorized English translation; and I am glad The Commercial Club of Chicago deems the essay of sufficient value to give it to the thoughtful readers of America and England.

GEORG KERSCHENSTEINER.

Chicago, November 14, 1910.

A FOREWORD

The Commercial Club of Chicago, recognizing the imperative need of practical, vocational training to supplement present public school courses, has engaged Dr. Edwin G. Cooley, formerly Superintendent of Schools of Chicago, to investigate the industrial education systems of Europe, with a view to learning what place such courses of study should have in the public school systems of America.

In pursuit of this task the Club has secured the English translation of Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner's prize essay entitled "Education for Citizenship." This is the first presentation in English of the theories which Dr. Kerschensteiner has so successfully demonstrated in the now famous continuation schools of Munich.

INTRODUCTION

This book will be a landmark in the history of education. It is a book of ideas which have been realized in practical administration. When it first appeared it sounded a new note of advance. It threw a fresh light upon the educational responsibilities of the State. It made those into whose hands it fell understand that the changed conditions of our economic and industrial life called for a new departure in educational policy. The old limits of compulsory attendance at school have become abolished. Educational supervision must be carried forward, in some suitable form, through the critical years of adolescence. This continued education must be dovetailed into industry and into all kinds of wage-earning employment by coöperation between the public authorities, the parents of the young people, and the individual employers concerned. But in such a course of continued education something more than purely technical or commercial training is required. Preparation for the duties of citizenship is not less indispensable than preparation for a trade. And preparation for the duties of citizenship means that the school must endeavor to impart a civic and moral ideal. Such is the argument of the book. And now both Europe and America recognize its truth.

A book is more than doubled in value when the writer of it proves that he can successfully work out his ideas in practice. This is the case with the volume now before the reader. As superintendent of education in one of the most famous cities of the world, Dr. Kerschensteiner has proved that he is as capable in the art of administration as in the art of literary expression.

He is a thinker who can translate his thought into practice; a doer of things which are the realization of an ideal. It is no accident that the strongest influence toward the humanizing of the technical continuation school has come from Munich, one of the great art centers of Europe.

Dr. Kerschensteiner's educational policy is inspired by a belief in the power of a living art to kindle a fine ideal of life. His plans appeal to something higher than commercialism and profit making. Greater value, indeed, the adoption of his policy may give to the prowess of skilled industry; but increased pecuniary gain, if it comes, will be a bye-product of it, a collateral result. The primary aim of the reformed continuation school is to produce better men and women. And it will help in doing this by setting before the younger members of the community a noble conception of civic duty, and by encouraging them to seek for the happiness which comes from doing creative work in the self-realizing, self-forgetting spirit of the true artist, which is also the spirit of the patriotic citizen. "Here," said one great painter of another, "here is the consummate workman who gladly recognizes the measure of his freedom within the four walls of his limitation, and thus illustrates the fine old words, 'whose service is perfect freedom.' "

This book now appears for the first time in English. Its translation has been a labor of love to one who, himself a teacher, has entered with quick insight and sympathy into Dr. Kerschensteiner's educational aim and civic purpose. Our thanks are due to Mr. Pressland for the skill and care with which he has discharged no easy task.

M. E. SADLER.

The University of Manchester
August, 1910.

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NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR

Two courses are always open to a translator—he may either endeavor to reproduce a masterpiece of literature in a version of equal literary merit, or he may attempt to convey the meaning of an author in the author's own way.

Of these two methods the latter has been adopted here, since the object of the translation is to give those who have no readiness in reading German a clear idea of Dr. Kerschensteiner's objects and policy.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the spring of the year 1900 the Royal Academy of Useful Knowledge of Erfurt, Germany, announced a prize competition of which the theme was: "How are our young men, from the time of leaving the Volksschule (age fourteen years) until the entrance into military service (age twenty years), to be educated for citizenship?" As director of a great city school system this question had interested me in the most lively way for many years. Shortly before the announcement of the subject of the prize competition I had been employed upon a sketch of an educational organization which should care for the youth of Munich who were beyond the years of compulsory attendance. The working out of this plan had been approved by a unanimous vote, so far as the principle was concerned, by the action of the two city councils at the end of April, 1900. Now, a year later, the theoretical considerations which led me to propose that plan of organization have received additional confirmation through the action of the Royal Academy in unanimously awarding the prize to the work lying before you.

Heavy is the feeling of responsibility which weighs upon one who has to guide a great school system in a new path, great the pressure of anxiety which the work of clearing away the obstacles to a new organization brings with it, and frequent the doubts as to the reasonableness of one's plans, when not all the expected results are realized. The more one reflects on these things the more one feels the need of a dispassionate criticism of what one has felt, thought, and done, by a wide circle of intelligent and impartial men, and the more reassuring will their

approval be in times of struggle with opposing currents of opinion, which spare no one who attempts to organize.

In spite of this, one will always be conscious that in so inadequately developed a question as that of the education of the masses for citizenship, involving not alone considerations of technical education but the whole range of social and economic relations, the final answer under all the circumstances cannot be given.

The stream of our civic life flows on in currents beyond the reach of the human eye. We estimate the direction in which it moves, and we mark out the goal which it should reach. The law of its motion is influenced by too many only partly known, still partly concealed, forces to make it possible for us to state it in a definite formula. Still we know that, among the unending series of forms in which the law displays itself, there are at least two principal influences governing its action,—the greatest possible insight on the part of the efficient members of the State as to the goal we are struggling toward, and the devoted and self-sacrificing purpose of the efficient to conduct the weaker ones with them to this goal. If we succeed in strengthening more and more these inner forces, we have done all that it is possible for the educator to do.

GEORG KERSCHENSTEINER.

Munich, July, 1901.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

During the last three years the thought of giving great care to education for citizenship, together with intellectual and technical education, has really won greater recognition than ever before. The deliberations of the German Reichstag over financial reform show that all classes need such an education,—not only the masses of workingmen, but the classes which we call well-to-do and educated. We recognize more clearly than ever before that neither scientific nor technical education will give, as a matter of course, any guarantee that the person so equipped will place his intellectual or technical weapons at the service of the general public, whenever circumstances demand it. We recognize more plainly than ever before that the much-admired organization of our German school system is under the pressing need of extending its work in the direction of character building—training for citizenship. Indeed, one can say that the demand for education for citizenship is beginning to be a battle-cry, with all the thoughtless superficiality that goes with a battle-cry. The real fundamentals, not only of education for citizenship but of all education, are in such cases ignored, and the original conception bound up with this much-used name is lost sight of. This is always the case with new ideas when they come into general circulation.

There was a need in this fourth edition of making a careful revision. The improving hand was laid on almost all paragraphs, new facts were introduced, and a stricter definition of the conception was striven for. In Chapter II the difficult and much-contested question of the aim of the State, and the asso-

ciated question of its task, were critically examined. In Chapter V the fundamental demand for the perfecting of a continuation school, which at the same time should give a guarantee for education for citizenship, was more sharply defined in order to make misunderstandings impossible for all future time. In doing this, the characteristics of the right kind of instruction for citizenship were worked out more definitely, in order that public education for citizenship should not suffer from the grave mistake which political parties make to-day when they color the meaning of the phrase with their partisan views. In the same chapter I have given a short description of our now happily completed organization of continuation schools in Munich. In Chapter VI entirely new matter is introduced. There is great danger that our measures for the advance of education for citizenship may go astray, as so many reforms of the last century did, by the introduction of a few more "ologies" into the heads of the children. It therefore appeared necessary to treat in this chapter, from a new point of view, the thought developed in Chapter IV,—the inner basis of education for citizenship. Whoever in the future, in his theory of education for citizenship, opposes this practical basis for the continuation school will first of all have to come to an understanding with the ideas of this chapter.

GEORG KERSCHENSTEINER.

Munich, May, 1909.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER I

THE EXISTING OPPORTUNITIES: THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR DEFICIENCIES

1. Every householder knows that the best way of protecting his property is to have it carefully inspected from time to time, to have all damage repaired at once, and to take opportune precautions against impending risks by the introduction of improvements. These simple statements apply in a greater degree to the edifice which we call the State. But the complicated structure of the State, which makes it so hard for the honest inquirer to gain a thorough insight into its constitution or a complete grasp of its functions, also renders it exceedingly difficult for him to perceive when and where amendment is necessary. In the past century we cherished for a long time the comfortable opinion that an edifice of this nature, possessing some sort of organic constitution, would of its own accord evolve remedies for its shortcomings, provided it were only a healthy organism. But what is meant by "the State a healthy organism"? To this question Plato gave an answer

centuries ago: "Only that State is healthy and can thrive which unceasingly endeavors to improve the individuals who constitute it." He himself inquired into the best forms of government, and in his marvelous dialogue, *The Republic,* sketched an ideal State, the outline of its foundation, and the laws for its maintenance. And when he was obliged to recognize that his sketch was a counsel of perfection, owing to his over-estimation of human capacity, he laid before the world a second sketch, entitled *The Laws.* In both of these works great importance is attached to public education as a fundamental necessity of civic life. The same idea recurs at a later period, not only in the works of great teachers who to a large extent are professionally interested in it, but in the lives of many prominent statesmen up to the commencement of the nineteenth century. But though the idea gained in generality, it was seldom the subject of the same profound reflection. The great minister of Louis XIV, the famous Colbert, who for more than twenty years exercised unlimited control over the finances of France, displayed an extensive educational activity, though his motive was solely to increase the productive power of the State. His successor, Turgot, the adviser of Louis XV, endeavored to train the people on Plato's lines,[1] and nominated a Council of Education for the whole kingdom. Almost at the same time, that is, in

[1] Gustav Meier, *Soziale Bewegungen und Theorien* (Teubner), p. 95.

the middle of the eighteenth century, the great Scottish economist, Adam Smith, demanded compulsory primary education. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth we find almost all the great men considering the question. An overpowering idealism, a thing almost unknown to-day, and a fervent belief in the future of the human race, took possession of the leading intellects of the day. In Germany, Schiller wrote his brilliant letters on esthetic education and Fichte his much-admired *Addresses to the German Nation.* Freiherr vom Stein and Wilhelm von Humboldt were advocating by word and deed the education of the people. And the same spirit which inspired them found its practical application in the work of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Schleiermacher. It was not to be expected that the utterances of these men would fall everywhere on deaf ears. As a matter of fact we trace in several German states at this time the first great beginnings of a general primary education as an acknowledged mainstay of the State.

2. But the fire of this enthusiasm was soon quenched. Though other reasons for its extinction can be quoted, this alone is decisive: There was no real demand for education among the people, who were participating more and more in the affairs of the country. In fact, the people evinced greater or less opposition to the educational policy of those in power, and, as is often the case to-day, the opposition sprang principally from selfish and interested motives. Even

in official circles zeal abated. People were contented with the introduction of compulsory education and the foundation of training colleges, with having replaced old dames, toll-keepers, and time-expired soldiers by proper teachers. It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that the question again became prominent. But the ideals of the old philosophers and economists no longer formed the motive power. "Culture," "Culture for its own sake," was the war-cry. And by "culture" was meant the greatest possible number of "ologies." Libraries of useful knowledge and mutual improvement societies began to appear. The curricula of primary and secondary schools were extended, the syllabuses were increased to an inordinate degree, the length of attendance was augmented, and the daily time-table enlarged. In politics no great educational movements are to be recorded. Our most prominent statesman, Bismarck, was occupied with other questions than that of public education. As all the rights and franchises which a liberal democracy considered absolutely necessary had then been granted to the people,[1] it was believed that the latter, though still in a state of political infancy, would, as a consequence of the new training, use their powers to proper advantage.

3. I have no desire to blame the franchise agitation of this period or to deplore its success, all the less

[1] Manhood suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of marriage, freedom of trade.

since that evoked, as it was bound to do, an educational activity which quickly made itself felt everywhere. But it cannot be said that the educational policy was well planned or was possessed of a clear aim. This remark applies not only to the work of voluntary societies but also to official regulations. A possible exception occurs in the case of Austria, with its Education Act of 1869 and its excellently conceived extension of industrial education on the lines proposed in 1881 by Dummreicher.[1]

The numerous and costly arrangements for extending education beyond the compulsory age, which State action and private initiative have rendered possible during the last thirty years in Germany, may be classified in the following six categories:

(*a*) Organizations, purely of a scholastic nature, called into being by the State, or private societies, for example, general, industrial, commercial, and agricultural continuation schools, trade schools, and technical and monotechnical schools (Lehrwerkstätten).

(*b*) Organizations, not of a scholastic nature, for the cultivation of intellectual and artistic tastes, promoted by science and art societies, university extension societies, public libraries, and similar institutions.

(*c*) Public and private organizations for making life pleasanter, for example, the formation of public

[1] Dummreicher, *Ueber die Aufgaben der Unterrichtspolitik im Industrie Staate Oesterreich*, Vienna (Holder).

playgrounds and the organization of popular entertainments and art exhibitions.

(*d*) Private organizations for promoting physical training, that is, gymnastic societies, health lectures, temperance societies.

(*e*) Social and philanthropic institutions of educational value, such as apprentices' homes, working girls' clubs, rescue committees, volunteer fire brigades, and sanitary associations.

(*f*) Public festivals for the preservation and extension of the feeling of national unity.

The origin of most of these organizations may be ascribed to the spirit which characterizes the latter half of the nineteenth century. An exception must be made in favor of the older gymnastic societies, which had been founded in the first part of the century as a means of education with a national purpose. In the sixties and seventies the belief that elementary education by itself was insufficient to give the amount of education necessary for the people forced itself on the official mind. About this time the first detailed acts relating to public continuation schools were issued, with the avowed intention of strengthening or supplementing primary education. In some German states, Saxony (1873), Baden (1874), and Hesse (1874), the obligatory character of these schools was emphasized from the first. In others, as in Prussia and Bavaria, the question of compulsory attendance was left to the decision of the local authority. From 1870 onwards,

technical training classes, people's education societies, and popular libraries began to develop rapidly.[1] The value of industrial art museums as a means of promoting both industrial efficiency and artistic taste gained greater recognition, and from this time forward we see a great increase in the hitherto scanty provisions of this nature. In the eighties the movement for providing public playgrounds made great progress until, at the beginning of the nineties, the Central Committee for the Promotion of Athletics (Centralausschuss zur Förderung des Volks- and Jugendturnspiele) took up the work systematically. The first apprentices' homes were then established; sanitary measures, a result of the campaign of 1870-1871, received increased attention; and temperance societies were formed. In the nineties, university extension societies on the English model were founded, and for the first time the idea that the providing of high-class amusement was an important part of popular education found expression in evening entertainments of a popular nature.[2]

[1] Cf. J. Tews, "Deutsche Bildungsvereine," in Reyer, *Handbuch des Volksbildungswesens*, Stuttgart, 1896 (Cotta), pp. 65-77. In 1871 the Gesellschaft für die Verbreitung von Volksbildung was founded in Berlin. In the same year the Volksbildungsverein in Munich appeared. In 1874 Düsseldorf and Dresden followed suit. In 1878 the Humboldtakademie in Berlin was opened. Among the important Bildungsvereine only a few, for example the Berlin Handwerkerverein and the Hamburg Bildungsverein, date much farther back (1844-1845).

[2] In Vienna the first great popular concert was held in 1892. In 1895 there were held in Berlin twenty-four popular concerts of classical music, admission to which cost from thirty-five to forty pfennigs. In

4. During the last thirty years the broad stream of general public education in German-speaking countries has thus received many additions, which have had their sources almost exclusively in the towns. The majority owe their origin to a right feeling among the educated classes; some may be ascribed to purely economic necessities, others to patriotic impulses, and others again to religious sentiment. If we consider the history of the most successful undertakings of this nature we notice an abundance of that spontaneous public-spirited activity which disregards reward; an administrative energy in individual men and women worthy of all admiration; a readiness of sacrifice, and a highly developed altruism among the intellectual élite of society. But, in spite of all this, most of the organizations mentioned do not produce the results which might be expected of them. In particular, most of them suffer from one great defect—the lack of an appropriate organization as regards civic education. With few exceptions, these public-spirited endeavors can be immediately ascribed to two motives,—intellectual or artistic culture for its own sake, and pecuniary advantage. This is easily understood of an age in which scientific knowledge

1897-1898 the first people's entertainment evenings were held in Munich, and Volkssymphoniekonzerte have been held regularly since 1899. In the latter year Von Ebarth threw open certain performances at the Court Theatre in Gotha at a reduced fee to the peasant population. In 1897, following the example of Frankfurt am Main, popular concerts were organized. Cf. *Schriften für Arbeiter Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen*, No. 78, Berlin, 1900 (Hegemann), p. 105.

showed a hitherto unheard-of growth, and the economic development of Germany received an impulse which in a short time converted a poor country into a prosperous one. In fact, we find all the important educational facilities organized entirely according to these two points of view; that is to say, all trade and continuation classes, whether they are maintained by the nation, the local authorities, or by private individuals. To spread knowledge and to insure dexterity were the principal aims of these societies. But knowledge and skill can be employed selfishly as well as altruistically, and they certainly will be employed selfishly if in these very schools we neglect to direct the attention of the masses to general considerations and to curb the selfishness of the individual while at the same time strengthening his feeling of solidarity.

We must add one more to the shortcomings of modern educational endeavor. In nearly all towns it is a common thing to find different societies with quite similar aims working side by side and dissipating in their competition both mental effort and material means. Only in a few towns, of which Basel is a notable example, has it been possible to prevent this, and to combine all efforts for the improvement of popular education and public well-being in a single society of public endeavor. Finally, in all the endeavors of the last thirty years the peasantry has been almost entirely overlooked. In the broad German counties there are neither technical classes nor mutual improvement

societies for the peasantry. There are no opportunities for instruction in art or politics; it is even difficult to say that the continuation schools have as yet gained a footing. Only the fire brigades and regimental societies are available for the cultivation of a feeling of solidarity, though here and there local clubs endeavor to foster a common, but often one-sided, trade interest. Exactly as at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this part of the German nation has still to rely on the primary school for the whole of its instruction in civics.

5. Now the public elementary school is a great achievement of the nineteenth century, in the first half of which it satisfied the modest requirements of civic education when well conducted and carefully supervised. With a minimum attendance of seven full school years it can still furnish the elementary instruction necessary as a foundation for further training and education; indeed, from the very beginning it exercises a considerable amount of educative influence. It provides the means indispensable under modern conditions for human intercourse, and gives the individual better prospects of success in life. Beyond doing this, the work of the primary school cannot be regarded as effective, for, with the leaving age fixed at fourteen, the pupil at the end of his school career is intellectually too immature. It is precisely on this account that the Swiss cantons have extended the age of compulsory attendance beyond what obtains in German schools. Thus Bern makes fifteen and Vaud sixteen years of

age the limit of compulsory attendance. It is true that the whole time of attendance (ten thousand to eleven thousand hours) in these cantons does not exceed the amount for German schools. But, though this is the case, no one will fail to recognize what an important advantage, in regard to public education, a school life of this kind, extending over nine or ten years, has as compared with our own.

In consequence of the earlier termination of the primary school course certain subjects of the curriculum fail to exercise their special educative influence on the German pupil, who lacks the insight necessary for their comprehension. But beyond all this, the premature release from school discipline means for most pupils a complete cessation of all systematic education, and this cessation occurs at an age when the demoralizing influences of an uncontrolled life may have the most baneful effect on the budding moral character.

6. In fact, we can say that in spite of extended syllabuses, perhaps even as a result of them, and in spite of an increase in the length of compulsory attendance, which only occurs locally and is still insufficient when it does occur, the general primary school established at the beginning of the nineteenth century does not meet the requirements of society at the end of it, when economic, social, and political conditions have completely changed. The rapid growth of towns, and especially of great cities, with their moral dangers; the inevitable weakening of the old educative influences

of family, trade, and class, which is a result of the economic, social, and political developments of the present day; the increase of wealth and the growing desire for pleasure which accompanies it; the manner in which the people abuse the liberty won for them by a liberal humanism and an intelligent democracy; the development of political conditions at home, and much else, make the complete cessation of an orderly public education at the age of thirteen or fourteen a grave disadvantage. Is it not strange that attendance at school up to the age of eighteen or nineteen is required from the small fraction of our people which is destined for the liberal professions, although they spring from families which possess both the means and the intellectual qualifications for accomplishing their educational duties, while we expose the overwhelming majority of their future fellow-voters to the unguarded dangers of everyday life when they are still little more than children? The little that we are able to give our primary pupils is sufficient to make the evil tendencies of everyday life as liable to influence them as the good. As it is impossible to give a definite direction to the character at the age of thirteen or fourteen by means of the primary school, and as young people at that age are without exception selfish, our primary education is for the individual, and still more for the mass, a gift of the Danaides rather than a bounty from heaven. We give the people all too readily a fire which it cannot tend, a hammer which it cannot wield, and a cast of

mind on which the demagogue who promises everything can work more easily than the leader who remains faithful to high principles.

7. Thus it is that at the end of the century thoughtful people are becoming conscious of the necessity for continuing public education beyond the compulsory term of the primary school. And, just as formerly, it is again the economist and the philosopher, cleric and layman, who demand with all earnestness the extension of civic education. It can truly be said that the great questions of political economy are bound up with those of education. In the same way, as many problems of national economy cannot be solved unless the people are well educated, so also is it impossible to introduce educational reforms without corresponding reforms in economic, in social, and even in political conditions. When the wolf waits at the door and thousands have to contend with hunger, will power is deficient, and strength is wanting to grasp a helping hand. Where miserable housing conditions, with their corrupting influences, kill the sense of home and family, the best part of our well-considered educational organization disappears without leaving a trace behind. If the upper classes have lost their moral fiber we shall seek in vain to reform the lower. On a close inspection of the relations mentioned we must recognize that the educational problem is exceedingly intricate, and that it is not to be solved without an educational policy of wide outlook, in which a knowledge of pedagogy as

well as a knowledge of economics is assumed, and in which courage and energy are as necessary as sympathy. But, above all, an educational policy must have a clear aim towards which the citizen may be directed. As to this aim, however, opinions differ so greatly that we must submit the question to a searching inquiry.

CHAPTER II

THE AIM OF CIVIC EDUCATION

1. The aim of civic education depends upon the conception we form of the State and its functions. But how widely in this respect does a Bismarck differ from a Windthorst, a Bebel from a Von Sturm, a Voltaire from a Rousseau! What differences there are in the apparently objective theories of government of Thomas Hobbes, of John Locke, and of Wilhelm von Humboldt! A man like Hobbes—impressed with the idea of the omnipotence of the State, who knows no laws but those of the State, no religion but the State religion, no property but State property—must necessarily have different educational ideals from a man like Locke, who opposed the general laws of humanity to those of the statute book and admitted the right of resistance to any measure which does more than protect life, liberty, and property. A man like Wilhelm von Humboldt—who in his *Ideen zu einem Versuche die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* characterizes as harmful any care shown by the State for the material welfare of the citizen—must reject, as Humboldt did, not only the education of the citizen by the State, but also every public provision for education.

A man who understands by equality that equal political power should be given to the diligent and the indolent, to the just and the unjust, to the philosopher and the simpleton, and that differences of food, drink, and housing should disappear; one who understands by fraternity a brotherhood of proletariats, by freedom the right to have his own will respected above all else —this man will desire a different civic education from that advocated by the Christian Socialists of England,[1] who preach that true equality consists in equal possibilities for all men to develop their capacity and talents; that, above all, freedom from prejudice must characterize a man before political or commercial freedom can benefit him; and that fraternity must be extended to others who hold opposite but perfectly honest opinions. Even in our own time Treitschke, genial historian and ardent patriot though he was, considered that the welfare of the State is promoted by an organization which deliberately keeps certain great masses of the people in a lower state of intellectual development for purposes of mechanical toil, and thus affords the intellectual élite greater leisure to work for the good of the country. Even to-day there are many serious people who share his opinions, among them those who seek to demonstrate that illiterates are necessary for menial work, and on this account wish to impose limits on

[1] Cf. the excellent work by Von Nostitz, *Das Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes in England*, Jena, 1900 (Fischer), p. 35. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to this work.

public education. Opposed to these are the great ethical teachers of the nineteenth century who see the welfare of the State in a social organization which permits every one, without exception, to develop his intellectual powers to the utmost.

2. In this conflict of opinion it is useful and necessary to discuss briefly the question, "What are the problems the State has to solve?" A consideration of past and present States and of the activity they have displayed shows that the views expressed by Paulsen in his *Ethics*[1] may be accepted as a correct answer to this question. He says: "The function of the State is to realize the vital interests of the community, first of all by protection against foreign and civil enemies, and then by action in those fields where the energy of the individual is insufficient or would be opposed to the interests of the community." In this statement the question, "What are the vital interests of the community?" remains unanswered. The reply is not at all easy. Thus much is certain: a State will be of value to the individual so far as his vital interests are involved in those of the State, or so far as there is hope that legitimate agitation may compel State attention to them. The State thus appears an immediate, valuable means of promoting his vital interests. But the interests of the numerous individuals composing the State are at variance. The farmer differs from the

[1] Paulsen, *System der Ethik*, etc., Fifth Edition, Vol. II, p. 527 and, at greater length, p. 513.

manufacturer in this respect, the townsman from the peasant, the employer from the employed, and the churchman from the free-thinker. History teaches us that such a conflict of interests may attain to dimensions which may bring the State to the verge of ruin and at the same time endanger the most proper of the vital interests of the individual. To prevent this we endeavor to constitute the State so that it can insure an agreement between conflicting individual interests by legislation or by arbitration. Our endeavors are thus directed toward making the State an efficient instrument for carrying out the agreement arrived at. In this State, which is now the object of our civic actions, the interests of the community are identical with those of the individual, modified as above. One of its functions is to further and safeguard the adjustment of conflicting interests and to organize means and forces for this purpose.

How far the State should attempt to solve this problem by means of official regulations; how far, as a State, it should legislate for the material welfare of its citizens, is a problem that ethics alone can help to solve. The aim of all education is to produce a society consisting, as far as possible, of persons characterized by independence of mind, harmonious development, and freedom of action which springs from high principles. To reach this end the direct State care for the material welfare of the people must decline gradually as the growing powers of the citizen render each

individual capable of undertaking the task for himself. Sufficient room must be left for the play of self-help, self-government, and enterprise, so that variety of conditions and honorable competition may insure an autonomous development. If, in the sense thus indicated, we declare that self-preservation and care for the welfare of the people is the function of the State, no considerable opposition will be shown to our statement.

From the point of view of the individual State, this function is mainly a selfish one, but to it social ethics adds, to a certain extent, another of an altruistic character. We may thus say that, just as it is the function of the family to foster the State-idea and to prepare its members for State-citizenship, so it is the function of the State to promote the "humanity-idea" of world-citizenship. But a State which judiciously fulfils its selfish functions, already briefly described as self-preservation and care for the public welfare, assists also the general idea of humanity; because it is only by the training of the ideal citizens as we have already described them, inspired with a strong altruism, that the selfish function in its best form can be rendered capable of fulfilment. If we educate good State-citizens we are also educating good world-citizens; the greater the social body and the more varied the balanced separate interests, the more is the humanity-idea necessarily promoted simultaneously with the State-idea. Yet how far a State should exceed its special

functions to place its forces at the service of the humanity-idea; how far, for example, it should accord moral or active support to weaker States, depends upon the extent to which the *raisons d'être* (of self-preservation and public welfare) appear thereby to be endangered. The demand that in the interests of humanity a State should disregard its own safety, and interfere in every case of injustice, is a premature demand in the present state of society. For the relations of States to one another are much what one would expect in a state of nature, and the idea of a body of culture between individual States is still something of a novelty. The kingdom of humanity, the visionary goal of social ethics, will recede to an infinite distance if the States with higher moral development should hazard their existence in these circumstances, or be overpowered by States of lower moral development that have committed the injustice. These considerations should not be lost sight of by those who wish to see the training of the world-citizen replace that of the State-citizen.

These remarks show that the State fulfils its functions at the present time when it confines its attention to its own preservation and to the welfare of its members. But if we wish to avoid misunderstandings we must subject these views to further analysis. As to welfare, we cannot consider this as an end in itself if we take it in the sense of the greatest comfort of all citizens; for, as history seriously teaches us, directly

this occurs, the self-preservation of the State will be endangered. By welfare we must understand that the State should endeavor to counteract all influences that might weaken it or render it liable to attack, and that it should care for the socially and financially weak, and should enable them, according to their capabilities and character, to take a place in the common struggle for the preservation of the State. And by self-preservation we must understand not an attempt to maintain equilibrium but a condition of development toward ever greater perfection. Let it not be objected that this conception can have a meaning only so long as the State is capable of development. We do not know how long a State can maintain this characteristic. The German Empire was once in a state of decay, and yet it is stronger and more powerful to-day than ever before. A State is capable of development as long as it believes in its mission and acts according to this belief. In this respect analogy with the individual is misleading. The statement that the function of self-preservation necessarily includes that of continued improvement is justified by the presence of a struggle for existence among States, from which the most efficient has the greatest chance of emerging with success.

3. Having thus defined the functions of a State in respect to self-preservation and the promotion of well-being, let us consider the further question, "How must the modern constitutional State fulfil its functions?" Now the vital principle of the modern State

is the unlimited extension of personal liberty and political rights. It is no longer, as in the eighteenth century, the prince "who sees everything, knows everything, and does everything" that contributes to the physical and intellectual welfare of his people. It is the people themselves, who in their own way work out their own salvation by means of their rights and liberties, chief of which is the right of voting. How far it is justifiable and reasonable to entrust a people altogether devoid of civic training with rights and liberties to such an extent is a question open to dispute. In finding an answer to this question, how the State should approach its task, we are restricted to the present situation,—a situation that can never be materially altered, one which, with certain assumptions, the best friends of their country cannot wish to see altered. The principal of these assumptions is that primary education should be thorough, even if it must be continued in maturer years. For, measured by ethical standards, that State is undoubtedly the best which can form the most powerful unit while granting the greatest amount of personal and political freedom to the individual, the family, and the community. The State of the eighteenth century was certainly not more ideal in this respect than that of the nineteenth.

If, now, the modern State recognize the citizenship of each of its members; if it give the right and impose the duty of assisting the State to fulfil its functions in the interests of the community; if, under certain condi-

tions, it be possible for the individual to gain what may be a decisive voice in the national affairs, both administrative and legislative,—then the answer to our question is near at hand. It is simply this: by giving to every one the most extensive education, one that insures (*a*) a knowledge of the functions of the State and (*b*) personal efficiency of the highest degree attainable. In other words, the modern State effects its purpose in the quickest manner by giving each of its members an education which enables him to understand generally the functions of a State, by means of which he is able and willing to fill his place in the State organism according to the best of his powers.

4. We must now define more minutely the general aim of civic education that we have in mind as regards the class of pupils and their ages, that is, the manufacturing population between the ages of fourteen and twenty. Here we are not concerned with a theoretical inquiry into the functions of the State, on which a system of social ethics or a general theory of government can be formulated. For several reasons this section of civic education must be limited to the modest aim of explaining, clearly and convincingly, the dependence of the special economic and social needs of the pupil on the interests of his fellow-citizens and of his native land. Among these reasons are the immature state of the pupils' minds, which cannot be disregarded; the short time available under modern conditions for an extensive intellectual training; the less certain influence

on the will which instruction taken alone affords; and the absolute necessity of providing for an all-round professional efficiency, without which civic usefulness would be greatly impaired.

Every theory which goes beyond the intellectual capacity of the pupils must be excluded from the curriculum. Instruction will best follow the lines of historical development and deal with the conflict of interests and its results. It should be planned to suit the pupils' trades, and above all to exhibit national interests by means of concrete examples. How this is to be done simply will be discussed in detail later.

As a means of insuring personal efficiency, and so of enabling a pupil to take that part in society which his capacity warrants, the first place must be assigned to a training in trade efficiency. This is the *conditio sine qua non* of all civic education. But in the prosecution of this object, in the training which inspires love of work and results in effectiveness of effort, precisely those civic virtues are developed which must be regarded as the foundation of all higher moral training,—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, self-restraint, and devotion to a strenuous life. From a consideration of the interdependence of individual interests it may be possible to develop the highest of civic virtues,—self-control, justice, and devotion to the interests of the community. How far education will be helpful here depends upon the extent to which our educational arrangements make it possible for the pupil

to be actively related to his environment and to apply the sympathetic interests we have aroused in him. For action is the only foundation of virtue. Thus much Aristotle has taught us already. This is also true of the second object which education toward personal efficiency puts before us: the training in a sensible, hygienic mode of life, which eventually makes the pupil a fit subject for military service. Here we shall have to provide not only for the discernment necessary, but also for the possibility of exercising it.

To sum up, the first aim of education for those leaving the primary school is the development of trade efficiency and love of work, and with this the development of those elementary virtues which effectiveness of effort and love of work immediately call forth,—conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, responsibility, self-restraint, and dedication to a strenuous life.

In close connection with this the second aim must be pursued: to gain an insight into the relations of individuals to one another and to the State, to understand the laws of health, and to employ the knowledge acquired in the exercise of self-control, justice, and devotion to duty, and in leading a sensible life tempered with a strong feeling of personal responsibility.

The first of these aims is part of a technical education; the second is part of a moral and intellectual education. But it must be remembered that the first aim also has intellectual and moral tendencies of high

moment, and that the second, as will be shown later on in detail, can be attained only through the first and as a continuation of it.

It is not unusual nowadays to find other educational aims put forward, and those especially recommended that bear on science and art. In determining principles we cannot favor these claims. First of all one must confine his ambitions to what is within his power of attainment, and then numerous scientific and artistic stimuli are sure to manifest themselves along the lines we have already indicated. Their further development must, to a large extent, depend on opportunities and individual talent. If artistic training were a safe foundation of civic education, those people would be right who wish to see the greater part of the time for civic instruction employed in the artistic training of the pupil. "But," says Schiller in his letters on esthetic education,[1] "we must reflect that in every epoch in history when the arts flourished and taste reigned supreme mankind was sunk in depravity, that it is not possible to find a single example of esthetic culture, at once widespread and advanced, among a people possessed of political freedom or civic virtue, of fine manners accompanied by genuine morality, or of behavior at once refined and sincere."

Furthermore, we must oppose the view that the aim of education is to be sought exclusively in the purely

[1] Tenth letter, p. 128, in the collection, Cotta's *Bibliothek der Welt-Literatur,* Vol. 14 of Schiller's complete works.

technical training for an occupation, a view which regards efficiency in work as a sure guarantee of civic virtues. In this there is a great danger of encouraging selfishness, both professional and personal. A school which devotes not a single moment of the day to any other interest than that of personal advantage or the desire to become an expert worker so as to gain the greatest possible advantage over competitors in the economic struggle, is scarcely a suitable nursery of civic virtue. On the contrary, one often observes in these cases that the attempt to gain expertness in the shortest possible time is apt to result even in serious injury to health.

Then as to religious obligations, civic education considers religion as a means of education and not as an end. Religion finds expression in the most different forms of creed. Liberty of conscience is one of the most important pillars of the State, and a State which prescribes a definite aim to civic education in this respect finds itself in serious conflict with its citizens. On this account we find sectarian instruction in religion excluded from the national schools in many countries where religious denominations are numerous, not from any indifference to religion but as a protection to religious sensibilities. In the United States of America there are no public schools in which religious instruction is given. In England, where lukewarmness on religious questions has never been alleged against the populace, the Education Act of 1870 says: "Every

school board is to be conducted under the conditions required for public elementary schools, and no religious catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination is to be taught therein." And in another section we read: "No attendance at any place of worship or Sunday school, nor any religious instruction, is to be imposed on a child if his parents or guardians object." If religious instruction is to be given in school it must be taken at the beginning or the end of a school session, so that children may be withdrawn easily if their parents desire it. "In England," writes Von Nostitz,[1] "there is comparatively little danger, because religious feeling is still alive among the people. The non-recognition of the established church in the public (council) school and the existence of a conscience clause is not so much a concession to the small party of secularists as a concession to the numerous influential dissenters who are particularly sensitive on sectarian questions. The English system is not a plea for a secular school but one in favor of religious views. The majority of English elementary public schools take advantage of the arrangements for giving religious instruction contained in the Act of 1870. In his excellent book, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, Graham Balfour reports that in

[1] Op. cit., p. 141. The remarks in the text apply to the public elementary schools in England and Wales. The voluntary schools, established to preserve distinctive forms of religious teaching, for many years accounted for about half the total number of pupils in attendance at primary instruction and are still very numerous.—*Translator.*

1894 there were only fifty-seven school-board districts in England and Wales where no provision was made for religious instruction. This is intelligible to any one who knows England well,—a country in which religion rightly plays a prominent part in education, but where the State is not authorized, in spite of the existence of an established church, to prescribe a religious aim for all its people. The aim is fixed by each family for itself."

5. One would have thought that the modern State, at any rate in the last half of the nineteenth century, would have recognized more clearly the aim we have described and the means necessary for attaining it. But this is not the case. It is only since political relations at home have developed in a direction which arouses deep anxiety in the prosperity of the Fatherland that attention has been paid to the problem of the civic education of the masses. And it is only since the selfishness of certain wealthy and educated classes has placed great obstacles in the way of imperial policy of high importance that the existence of a lacuna in our higher schools, as regards civic education, has become evident in the highest circles of the Empire. An examination of the regulations, statutes, and curricula of schools and institutions that deal with the education and instruction of the masses, that is, continuation schools and technical and monotechnical schools, will show what peculiar conceptions governments and private societies have formed of this important question.

In these schools the lack of any instruction in civics or hygiene strikes the reader at once. Take up any regulation dealing with any such school in any German state, and it will be found that the object of the school is either to repeat, to strengthen, or to extend the instruction given in the public elementary school, or to give a purely specialized training. Our secondary pupils leave school without the slightest interest in civic questions and totally ignorant of the purpose, constitution, and functions of the State organism. Such ignorance becomes intelligible only when we remember that our secondary schools date their organizations from a time when there were no citizens, but only subjects and rulers. So far, in Germany at least,[1] no legislator has thought of making use of the school in the sense we have indicated. The new Prussian technical schools for the building, machinery, and weaving trades, excellently organized as they are from the trade aspect, do not contain a single subject of instruction which serves any other purpose than the acquisition of technical skill and knowledge, or the promotion of trade efficiency. The industrial art schools of Germany, which might influence greatly the taste of the people, are almost entirely schools of drawing, modeling, and painting. Nowhere has an attempt been made to introduce, even as a side issue, any instruction which

[1] Hamburg is the first town to demand systematic instruction in civic questions in all its schools (since 1908). Of course mere instruction is insufficient for all whom the home does not provide with the corresponding moral will power, but the first step has been taken.

will direct the attention of the pupil systematically, and not merely incidentally, to general interests, instead of confining it to his immediate interests, although in all the schools mentioned immature mental development cannot be put forward as an obstacle. The German continuation and technical schools show the same shortcomings as the trade schools mentioned, even such highly developed technical schools as those of Berlin and Hamburg, and such well-organized schools as the continuation schools of Leipzig.

The two great European republics, France and Switzerland, show a fuller appreciation of this question. Since 1894 Vaterlandskunde has been a subject of the curriculum in the Handwerkerschule of Bern. In addition to a repetition of geography and history the instruction embraces the consideration of communal, cantonal, and federal finance, of the functions of the legislative, administrative, and judicial authorities; a discussion of the rights and duties of the Swiss citizen; the productivity of the country, its trade, industries, and commercial relations with foreign nations. Even actual copies of *referendum* and *initiative* proposals are discussed. In the first year of the course one class, of twenty-three pupils, was formed; four years later there were eleven classes with three hundred pupils. Since 1883 the attention given to civic education has been even more widespread in France than in Switzerland. Almost everywhere *gymnastique,* as contained in the code for the *écoles primaires*

supérieures, is taught in the trade schools. In addition to this, *enseignement moral* or *instruction civique*—for the most part, be it said, hygiene and manual training—is taught in these schools and, locally, in some elementary schools also. Now during the last twenty years we have had in Germany plenty of men who pointed out this defect of our technical, commercial, and agricultural schools, who demanded that a knowledge of law and national economy should be an obligatory subject of instruction, and who wrote books for this purpose. But these books,[1] almost without exception, show a great want of insight into the possibilities of such instruction. It is a great mistake to imagine that the civic insight of the classes considered will be improved by lectures on the constitution or on the factory acts, or by a discussion of theories of national economy, even if, which is not yet the case, efficient instructors are to be found. Instruction must find another and more unpretending way of gaining its object, one that can captivate both the disposition and the will.[2]

6. But, above all, we must refrain from forming great expectations when instruction is the only means of attaining our object. With pupils of this class, between the ages of fourteen and twenty, instruction forms but a small part of the task. Other arrangements,

[1] A fairly complete catalogue is given in Pache, *Handbuch des Deutschen Fortbildungsschulwesens*, Wittenberg, 1900 (Herrosé), Part V, p. 72.

[2] See Chap. V, sec. 6, et seqq.

to be discussed later, must be made for providing the greater part of civic education. It will be well to distinguish, at the outset, two stages of civic instruction. One corresponds to the age of apprenticeship and so reaches to the age of seventeen or eighteen, during which time compulsory education is predominant; the other corresponds to the journeyman stage and lasts up to the period of military service, and during this time attendance at classes or other means of education is left to the pupil's free choice. The more thoroughly education is organized during the first stage, and the more ready the artisan class is to make personal and material sacrifices for the education of its posterity, so much the more will the efficient worker make use of the varied educational opportunities which are provided for him during the second stage by the State, by local authorities, and by private associations. Everything depends on the influence we exert on the pupil between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Finally, military service forms a kind of third stage. So far as discipline of the will and physical education are concerned it is one stage at present; so far as moral education is concerned this is unfortunately but rarely the case.[1] When the large social classes have once thoroughly comprehended the necessity of civic education, when the purely utilitarian policy of our numerous technical, industrial, and agricultural institutions

[1] Cf. Professor Gruber, *Die Prostitution vom Standpunkt der Sozialhygiene*, Vienna, 1900 (Deuticke), p. 9.

has given way to a broader and more patriotic one, then will the question of the most complete and profitable treatment of this third stage of civic education have received a final answer.

CHAPTER III

THE EXTERNAL CONDITIONS

1. Before we proceed to discuss the principles which must be observed in every attempt to make civic education practicable under existing conditions of society, we must understand the fundamental conditions which render the civic education of the masses at all possible. These may be arranged in two groups, which may be called external and internal. The external comprise (*a*) conditions of an economic-social nature, relating to pay, work, housing conditions, and nature of occupation; (*b*) conditions of a political-social nature, viz., any view or measure which assists or hinders the aspirations of the efficient; and (*c*) the standard of culture of the masses, in particular that of women.

The internal conditions are chiefly of a psychological nature. By them we understand (*a*) the two great instincts of selfishness and altruism; (*b*) the relation between the education of the intellect and the education of the will; and (*c*) the psychological importance of productive work in the whole scheme of education.

The importance of these internal conditions is not very obvious, and opinions as to their range differ greatly. But practically there is unanimity as to the

influence which the external conditions, particularly those in section (*a*), exert on the education of the masses. If these conditions are distinctly unfavorable it is of little use for us to launch into extensive schemes. Every existing organization is the result of continual adaptation to a changing environment. Individual reformers have declared that all existing institutions ought to go into the melting pot. If we wish to effect a lasting improvement we have no need of the melting pot, nor is it advisable to introduce any sudden revolutionary measures. It is better to trace the numerous influences which go to form modern national life and endeavor gradually to improve the conditions under which they arise.

2. To discuss the external conditions at length does not fall within the scope of our work, and we must limit ourselves to a short notice of the more important. If success is to attend our educational efforts the desire to learn must be present. Now it is a well-established fact that this desire is closely connected with the conditions of work and wages. Very long hours of work and low wages, even when the work is light, cause a complete deterioration—physical, mental and moral—in the working classes. On the other hand, high wages and short hours of work, extended over a considerable space of time, bring an increased desire to learn. Brentano [1] was the first to draw

[1] Brentano, *Ueber das Verhältnis von Arbeitslohn, Arbeitszeit, und Arbeitsleistung*, Second Edition, Leipzig, 1893 (Duncker und Humblot).

attention to these phenomena in the English textile, engineering, and mining trades. His conclusions have been repeatedly confirmed by the economic researches of W. Roscher, John Rae, and J. Singer, and quite recently by the studies of Von Nostitz, while J. Tews has endeavored to demonstrate their correctness theoretically. It must not be forgotten, however, that these investigators, with the exception of J. Singer—who studied the conditions of the hand-loom weavers in Bohemia—have dealt with English and American skilled factory labor. Hence not only the character of the people, but other political-social conditions, which we shall discuss later, may have important modifying influences. Even if we, with reason, distrust the general conclusion of these extensive observations, as far as they apply to unskilled workpeople and easy-going races, we must in any case admit that excessive hours of work necessarily choke every desire for self-improvement. The first care of civic education will thus be to support all efforts to restrict the hours of work, especially of apprentices, to a reasonable number. The Imperial Factory Act in Germany, in general, protects the factory worker only between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, by fixing his hours of work at from six to ten per day. But the older apprentices, and the apprentices in unscheduled trades, enjoy no such benefit. Here the model Lehrwerkstätten, as in France and Switzerland, and properly organized obligatory continuation schools, but above all, trades

councils and workers' guilds, can best effect a gradual improvement.

3. Attempts at civic education are hampered, especially in towns, as much by bad housing conditions as by long working hours and low wages. Everything that the primary school does for moral and physical education, everything that apprenticeship under a good master, in combination with a good continuation school, has been able to do toward the formation of character, can be completely undone by bad housing conditions. In Germany the two features most productive of evil are the overcrowded home and the unsatisfactory sleeping accommodations for the young worker. The domestic virtues which are the source of civic virtues, viz., love of order, good management, and the sense of family unity, do not thrive. Bad housing means the loss of all comfort and quiet, and is, too, a great incentive to drink. Public bars are nowhere so numerous and so full as in the slums. The crowding together of persons of different sexes favors sexual immorality, the feeling of shame is destroyed, adultery is common, and even bloodshed ceases to be regarded as anything unusual.[1]

Wherever housing conditions are bad the attention of the civic educator must be directed toward removing young people from these surroundings. But beyond an energetic inspection of dwellings and reconstructive

[1] Cf. Von Nostitz, op. cit., pp. 634, 635. Report of speech by Lord Shaftesbury.

measures there is only one effective means at hand, the establishment of protective institutions, viz., homes for apprentices and young journeymen, girls' clubs, and homes for working girls.[1]

4. Among the economic-social conditions which exert a more powerful influence we attach special importance to the nature of the young worker's occupation. There is no doubt that those trades which call for the greatest intellectual or technical skill on the part of the worker afford the most favorable opportunities for our educational activity. It is not because the personnel is better, but rather because these occupations arouse more interest in the national life. This interest may often be selfish, but it is many-sided and affords us a good starting-point. In proportion as his occupation makes less claim on the intellect of the worker, our educative work becomes harder and an increased expenditure on education becomes necessary. Those without occupation are most unfavorably situated. They lose the benefits both of school and occupation, and seldom enjoy a decent family training. People of this class are seldom met with in the country, but they are to be found in all great towns. In the continuation schools of Munich, where 6,233 pupils were enrolled in 1900, there were 285 boys

[1] Compare the reports by Hennig, Seiffert, Drammer, and Fritsch in the publications of the *Zentralstelle für Arbeiterwohlfahrtseinrichtungen*, No. 19, Ninth Congress, April 23-24, 1900, Secs. V, VI, XI, and XII.

(4.5 per cent) without any occupation. Of the remaining 5,948 pupils, 534, or 8.3 per cent of the total, belonged to the ranks of unskilled labor. Even a well-organized continuation school is almost powerless to deal with these two groups, because the main motive of all education, and therefore of civic education also—the love of creative work—is almost entirely wanting, and the school has difficulty in finding any features which will rivet the interest of the pupil. Leipzig has made a noteworthy experiment by endeavoring to arouse an interest in the home.[1] This is done by giving Heimatkunde the chief place in the syllabus of the continuation schools for these pupils. But the work of the boys' brigade, or boy scouts, appears better adapted for dealing with children of this nomad class.[2]

5. Besides these economic-social conditions there are others of a political-social nature which have a far-reaching influence on civic education. Of these we shall now consider at length two, which we may call the monopoly of school and the monopoly of class. Nothing injures the desire to learn so much as want of prospects. When hope has been abandoned, no stimulus to self-improvement remains. As long as the worker is regarded and treated by the employer as a

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[1] In the course of the last ten years it has become more and more apparent that there is no effectiveness of organization to be obtained, at least in the large towns, by concentrating the instruction of the pupils under review round the subject of Heimatkunde.

[2] Cf. Chap. VI, sec. 7.

drudge, as long as it is considered necessary to prevent, or at least to make exceedingly difficult, the progress of the able, so long will our educational arrangements fail to exercise any attraction, and so long will they feed rather than extinguish the revolutionary fire of discontent. If, a few years ago, the desire for self-improvement was much more noticeable among the English than among the German workpeople, and if the revolutionary labor party in England now has more unfavorable material to work upon than it has in Germany, this must certainly be ascribed, among other causes, to the circumstance that every efficient worker in England finds progress up the ladder possible. A large homogeneous mass of discontented people is dangerous only when the organization of the nation and of society makes a galley-slave even of the most efficient. Now, speaking generally, the schools both of England and America know neither monopoly nor privilege. The quality of the knowledge, not the place where it was acquired, is the main consideration. On no account would we give up our excellent German general and technical schools, which the foreigner may well envy us; but a greater freedom in admission to the final examination, especially for the numerous posts in the civil service, appears to us desirable. Thirty years ago Professor Huxley said:[1] "Our business is to provide a ladder reaching from the gutter to the university, along which every child in the three

[1] *Science and Culture,* pp. 82 and 83.

kingdoms should have the power of climbing as far as it is able to go." And again, "If the nation could purchase a potential Watt, or Davy, or Faraday at a cost of one hundred thousand pounds down he would be dirt-cheap at the money." If this be done, we may surely hope that the opportunities for learning which we create will arouse in the capable workman that interest in the community which we expect of him.

It is requiring something superhuman of the workman to expect him to share the interests of the upper classes when, in spite of his ability, he remains forever excluded from the social advantages they offer. There is great danger of increasing the educated proletariat by such means. We need to organize our arrangements for training workmen in such a manner that we do not at the outset drive the pupil away from manual employment.[1]

6. There is another cause at work in favor of civic education in England—the admission of intelligent workmen to the highest offices of the State. Thomas Burt, formerly a miner, rose to be Under-Secretary of State. In 1882 one Trade Union leader was appointed factory inspector and another permanent correspondent of the Board of Trade. Workmen regularly sit on royal commissions of inquiry. In 1895

[1] For example, the organization of the monotechnical schools in Paris. The question is discussed in greater detail in the author's *Die gewerbliche Erziehung der Deutschen Jugend*, Darmstadt, 1901 (Alexander Koch).

John Burns and Keir Hardie were chosen members of the royal commission that dealt with the question of the unemployed. A number of workmen have been made justices of the peace. In raising the question of the reform of the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery has even proposed to create peers from the working classes.

7. Finally there is the personal interest of the upper classes in the affairs of the laboring population. We have seen great industrial districts in northwestern Germany in which the rich and educated classes cut themselves off entirely from the working classes.[1] How can any feeling of solidarity arise when thousands and thousands of people see no interest taken in them that does not refer to their output of work, when the payment of wages at the end of the week is the only link between employers and employed? The attitude of the Social Democrats in Germany, which is distinguished by its want of national and religious feeling and by its class hatred, makes any understanding much harder than it would be in England, where millions of workers and the greatest and oldest of trade societies are proud of their country and loyal to the monarchy, preserving a religious and tolerant spirit though they belong to many different religious bodies.[2] This result is due in no small measure to the

[1] With laudable exceptions; for example, the great dyeing firm, Fr. Beyer in Elberfeld, has established most wonderful social agencies.

[2] Cf. J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 470.

more advanced political ripeness, insight, and coöperation which the upper classes showed at those critical times when the English workman was fighting for an existence worthy of a human being.

Men like Lord Shaftesbury, Carlyle, Owen and the Christian Socialists, Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, and Hughes, by their overpowering earnestness won over large numbers of the clerical and learned classes and so, directly or indirectly, called into existence many institutions which proved to be a strong bond of solidarity. There is a very fruitful field open to us here, and we shall find our efforts successful if the upper classes become convinced that social democracy is a social development which will best be prevented from degenerating into a dangerous national evil by wisdom and good feeling.

8. These two qualities are above all necessary if we wish to impress the masses with the necessity for civic education. We must acknowledge the existence of a selfishness, shortsightedness, and mental poverty which often arouse the most violent opposition from townsman and peasant, from manufacturer and merchant, to any reasonable education of posterity. These causes may be attributed to the long-continued neglect of the business training of the masses after education ceases to be compulsory, and to the severe struggle for existence that results from a large increase of population and easier means of communication. Where no breach has yet been made in these walls we shall have

to be content with the minimum of voluntary sacrifice. In this matter great demands immediately call forth the most violent opposition. But the first small voluntary effort, which should never be spurned, loosens the first stone in the fortifications. Then love, wisdom, and devotion on the one side, and habit, growing discernment, coöperation, and vanishing distrust on the other, will make it more and more possible to find easy ways of carrying through our wider educational policy. For nine years we have been working on the organization of the continuation schools of Munich. Now (1909), when we are discussing their final form, we find the most encouraging corroboration of our statements in the views of employers of the most varied trades. The greatest sacrifice the employer is called upon to make is to give the apprentice sufficient time at reasonable hours to attend the school. This sacrifice is now a matter of course. The personal attention of the organizer and his assistants, and the sympathetic pressure they exert, is of a thousand-fold more benefit than all the official codes and regulations put together. When the people are thoroughly indifferent they will be roused from their apathy not by harangues but by disinterested efforts.

9. One thing we must by no means overlook. The education of girls after the age of fourteen—which has been almost entirely neglected by the State, the local authorities, and private associations—must be taken in hand as strenuously as the education of boys,

and in no small measure as a result of the prominence given to the latter. In the present state of education of the masses the difficulties which selfishness and greed, the necessity of earning a living, and stupidity give rise to, are probably greater among girls than among boys. The civic education of the latter, so far as trade efficiency goes, is understood by the majority of them; but as a general rule the girl is sent out to earn her living earlier and with much less protection than the boy. With scrappy teaching, with no preparation for her subsequent calling as wife and mother, without any comprehension of the position of a man as a citizen, she becomes the life-companion of the latter. But the family is still the mainstay of the nation and will remain so as long as the life of the State is healthy. The whole civic education of the boy will give us much less anxiety if all girls are trained for their duties as wives κατ' ἐξοχήν.

In May, 1908, the second conference of the Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt was held in Berlin. It was attended by many men and women from the official classes, the educational world, and the general public. The results of this conference lead us to hope that the day is not far distant when the majority of young girls will receive the education they most need.

We must conclude our remarks. They will have served their purpose if they have convinced us that the value of our educational arrangements, so far as the

civic education of the masses is concerned, is greatly dependent on a proper consideration of external conditions, and not on the internal conditions alone, which we now proceed to consider.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS

1. The final and greatest desire of mankind is happiness. Some seek it in material, others in intellectual possessions; some in public honors, others in peace of mind; some in personal skill, others in unselfish devotion to family, friends, and colleagues, to their country, or to humanity; some seek it in heaven, others on earth. In this sense we may say that egoism, or, as it is called, individualism, is the most powerful incentive to deliberate action. No normal human being courts pain and unhappiness for their own sakes, and orders his actions accordingly. We are often misled as to the fundamental motives of our conscious, non-spontaneous decisions. We often believe that our actions are quite disinterested, and determined entirely by love for something lying outside us, and that we place ourselves at the service of our neighbors from an overwhelming sense of duty; and then a careful introspection reveals "self" as the deciding factor, even if it may be only an unconscious desire to remain consistent with our principles. Thus we may occasionally seek, and discover, the dregs of egoism in deep sympathy, pure love, and devoted benevolence.

Egoism may be called the innate impulse toward self-preservation or, as zoölogists put it, the impulse to maintain the species. According to the aim given to it by education, and to the cultivation of another impulse, to be considered immediately, egoism may be either undisguised selfishness or a cheerful sacrifice of self for the welfare of others, even a voluntary death for the salvation of one's better self.

2. But a second soul lives in the human breast—altruism. Comte, who introduced the word into ethics, understood by it the complete absorption of the person in others, the complete surrender of one's own self. In this sense a permanent condition of the soul is not possible, nor is it, from the standpoint of ethics, desirable.[1] But altruism in the sense of a cheerful devotion to others, while reserving the power of self-assertion, is to be noticed in all men and nations, in every state of civilization, and in every religion.

Not only in the cultured classes of the population but also in the uneducated, not only among the rich but still more commonly among the poor, not only among the pious missionaries of the early Middle Ages but in the lower criminal quarters of London we find devotion and love, sacrifice and self-denial, as spontaneous and instinctive acts. This readiness for self-sacrifice may be regarded as an outgrowth of the instinct of the preservation of the genus, which zoölogists

[1] Cf. Höffding, *Ethik*, edited by Bendizen, Leipzig, 1888 (Fuess), pp. 118-120.

believe they have established in the animal world, in addition to the instinct of the preservation of the species. It is impossible to conceive an adult in whom the instinct is completely wanting. History records no man so intensely selfish that at no hour of his life has such a revelation of the divinity appeared. The most favorable conditions for its growth are found amid a cheerful contentment, which grows in proportion as our perceptions are successful in conceiving our fellow-men as beings who feel and think and are of the same constitution as ourselves. Pity can be felt only by those who can place themselves in the position of the person to be pitied; the person most affected is one who has experienced a similar misfortune, of which he preserves a vivid mental impression. A small child will play merrily and carelessly with the flowers on its mother's coffin; it neither understands nor shares the grief of its father or relatives.

From these considerations we may infer that the development of this impulse depends much more strongly on the perfecting of our perceptions and conceptions than on the desire to preserve the species, which appears to be more fundamental and powerful. This shows that in proportion as culture enhances our estimate of the value of man by himself, altruism must accordingly increase. When the higher and better educated classes show such a keen interest in the solution of social problems—not merely the masses whose altruistic attitude is easily understood—this attitude

must be attributed in no small degree to our better conception of the potentiality of the individual. To have prepared the ground for this attitude is doubtless a great merit of Christianity, which teaches that all men are equal before God and enjoins, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Based on these views, the humanism of the eighteenth century was able to establish its theory of humanity which made equality of rights, and also of duties, appear natural even on earth, and gave to the highest of human virtues, justice, a comprehensiveness which antiquity never knew. The historical development of altruism affords sufficient hope that the educational and civilizing efforts of our own times will be given sufficient opportunities of participating in the solution of social problems. And this will occur, in spite of the fears of those who consider a too liberal application of the demands of humanism as a danger to society.

3. Thus theory as well as experience teaches us that the actions of mankind are in the main determined by two influences. Hunger and love, egoism and altruism, form the motives of the world. Each may become a moral or an immoral influence under the action of environment and training. Egoism may become selfishness or self-assertion; altruism may become sentimentality or self-sacrifice. In the animal world, as in the human, the egoistic motive shows itself the stronger. But while it is permanent among animals it becomes less prominent among men under the influence

of a suitable education—at first as a result of discipline and habit, and then, following only on these, as a result of a ripening intellect. The progressing power of comprehending the relations between the welfare of the individual and that of the community—in other words, of understanding how the fortune of the individual depends on the fortune of the family, of members of the same trade or profession, of members of the same parish, or of citizens of the same State—influences more and more our moral appreciations and enables us to recognize that the most valuable motives of our actions are precisely those of common occurrence. While the lower egoistical impulses necessarily lose their selfish force with regard to our personal welfare, the sympathetic impulses simultaneously develop and perfect themselves in proportion as our conceptions of sentient fellow-creatures gain in extent and strength by active life in the family and among trade companions and fellow-citizens. Hence egoism slowly and necessarily gives place to altruism among people of good moral and mental development, if they are actively engaged in common interests, and striving after knowledge not only in the study but also in the "streaming city's central roar." Thus resignation and self-assertion form the bond of justice toward themselves and others. But in this process of development importance must unquestionably be attached to the regular and simultaneous perfecting of *both* fundamental motives. Individual political economists teach

that consistent egoism (*konsequent Egoismus*) is really altruism. However, they conceive the idea, not in the same sense as Comte or Fichte, but in a utilitarian sense which cannot be ethically valued, and therefore is not economically intelligible.[1] Demands such as "The taxes on corn should be abolished in order that food may be cheaper," or "The workman must be raised to a higher level by education and training," gain their ethical importance only from the purpose for which they are put forward. The utilitarian considers them important only because they increase the productive capacity of the country, in the first place by the increased purchasing power of the people, consequent on the cheapness of necessaries, and in the second place on account of the increased producing power of the masses, resulting from their better training. Here we have undoubtedly "consistent egoism," which appears disguised as altruism, but only disguised; and the danger that at some time or other it will cast off its disguise is very great.

4. The ethical fusion of egoism with altruism through the refinements of the fundamental motives of the soul is, without doubt, in its highest phases autonomous, and necessarily occasioned by the progressive development of the intellect. But if only an autonomous education were at our disposal, the prospect of

[1] On the question whether ethics is the foundation of economics the reader may consult Höffding, Leipzig, 1888 (Fuess), p. 183, or Von Nostitz, op. cit., pp. 765-768.

making it possible to introduce civic education would be very small. For the majority of people an education of this nature is, from economic and social reasons, totally impossible, not only during the first twenty years of life but during the whole period of existence, even if a lack of the necessary intellectual equipment were not an insuperable obstacle. It is fortunate for humanity that high intellectual education by itself does not form character. History teaches us that enlightenment by itself no more makes men or people moral than does belief by itself. Wherever we look we see that no person, least of all the young, becomes more diligent, careful, thorough, attentive, or self-denying as a result of the most careful exhortations and sermons on such subjects as the meaning of diligence and indolence, of care or neglect, of devotion and selfishness, unless we take pains to overcome the innate selfish laziness, the germ of all evil, by steadily holding him to his work and carefully supervising it; or to lay the foundation for the elementary civic virtues by steady, simultaneous exercise of his will. The value of our school education, as it is enjoyed by the masses, rests essentially less on the cultivation of the field of thought than on the resulting training to diligent, conscientious, thorough, well-finished work, on the steadily formed habit of unconditioned obedience and faithful fulfilment of duty, and on the authoritative and continuous introduction to the exercise of a readiness to oblige. In fact, the influence

of these chief means of education makes itself felt strongly in our secondary schools. The discipline of our army, and with it a large portion of our national education, also depends on it. So also does the education of our country population, after leaving school, in the family circle and in trade. The first education of a human being in the course of his daily work does not follow his own way of thinking, but follows the will of some one else and prescribed rules; and only on the basis of this heteronomous education can an autonomous one be developed.

While work and habit are the best means of overcoming our selfishness and indolence, and thus leaving the way free for other efforts, especially the altruistic, they do more than this; they produce the desire to be good and moral. This desire is the fundamental condition for all higher education. No spiritual teaching can be assimilated without it. Character is not to be gained by the reading of books or the hearing of sermons, but by continuous and steadily applied work. Our public and private institutions, our curricula and time-tables, should be judged quite as much by their influence on the will as by their influence on the intellect. Aristotle drew attention to this when he demanded that the moral side of our social arrangements should be judged by the habits it implants in the individual, and asserted that the most important matter was how, and how far, they direct the young man's

activity into the right path from the beginning.[1] Therefore conscientious but joyful service, and the habit of making a good job of every piece of work, are the means by which the hard soil of egoism must be cultivated so that it is capable of receiving the seed of insight and making it germinate. We thus understand the words of Carlyle when, zealous for social education, he exclaims: "The latest gospel in this world is, know thy work and do it. All true work is sacred; in all true work, were it but true hand labor, there is something divine";[2] and also the preacher Solomon when he declares, "Wherefore I perceive there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his work, for that is his portion."[3]

5. It is as a rule a matter of indifference what form educative work should take. One condition alone appears to be necessary—that the worker should rejoice in it. This is most of all the case when the work gains the interest of the pupil. It is a matter of indifference where work disciplines a man, whether at the desk or at the easel, at the bench or at the loom, on the farm or in the factory, in the production of goods or in the exercise of practical charity. For this one thing is peculiar to all honest, earnest work: that it should exercise the powers of will, which are the bases of the most important civic virtues,—diligence, care,

[1] Höffding, "The Aristotelian Principle," *Ethik*, p. 186.

[2] Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book III, Chaps. 11, 12.

[3] *Ecclesiastes*, iii. 22.

conscientiousness, perseverance, attention, honesty, patience, self-control, and devotion to a fixed aim beyond us. These virtues must later on be fostered by insight into the necessity of a moral life, but this insight can only be effective when the germs which it has to bring to perfection are already developed. The resolution adopted in June, 1900, at the Cologne meeting of the association of German teachers—that manual training should be abolished in the boys' schools in order that the time thus available might be given to intellectual training, and so not wasted—was therefore not free from objection. This dispute in the movement for the reform of secondary schools, as to which of Latin, French, or natural sciences should first be introduced into the curriculum of the lower classes, also appears, from the point of view of character training, to be entirely beside the mark. The reason why the seven great public schools of England, and especially Eton and Harrow, have such great value as national institutions, although compared with German Gymnasien the intellectual training is of a much lower standard, is that they attach so much importance in their educational policy to the training of the will, since, as Pusey says, they wish to produce not books but men. And the same may be said of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, with the venerable family traditions which have been maintained in their colleges.[1]

[1] "The habit of self-reliance and of looking to nothing behind for support has developed with us the capacity of individual initiative and

The value of sterling work in the civic education of the mass of the people gains in prominence when we reflect that, for the majority of those leaving the primary schools, work must not only provide the principal means of educating the will but it also offers almost the only point of departure for the further development of the intellect and, with it, of all those traits of character that cannot properly be developed without insight into human life. In the rapidly increasing large towns there are hundreds of thousands who leave the primary schools and are suddenly admitted to a momentous freedom. The gentle restraint of a well-ordered family life, with all its good suggestions, no longer influences them. Other attractions, from all holes and corners, allure the sensuous egoism, while both the moral and the intellectual instincts, which the school has matured, are still too weak to resist temptation constantly. How then shall we approach the young citizen to develop in him a discerning altruism? To this question only one answer appears

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of rule in uncivilized surroundings which makes some reflecting Germans pause and ask whether all is well with them. They point to our great public schools and compare them with their own great secondary schools. They are many of them asking to-day whether the German Gymnasium, with its faultlessly complete system not only of teaching but of molding youth, really compares altogether favorably with our unorganized Eton and Harrow, where learning may be loose, but where the boys rule themselves as in a small State, and are encouraged by their teachers to do so."—R. B. Haldane, *The Dedicated Life*, Rectorial Address to the Students of Edinburgh University (John Murray, 1907), p. 14.

to me possible—at his work. I know well enough that the large towns contain many who cannot thus be approached. But the naturally work-shy boy is very much in a minority, thanks to the good primary schools in our large towns and thanks also to the nature of the child. The overpowering majority have work to do and wish to make their work a means of progress. Their interest lies in their trade, and almost all have to be won over through this interest. Having once in this manner won the boy to our side, we possess his confidence, and possessing his confidence we can lead him morally as well as intellectually. But how far we are able to interest him beyond his trade affairs depends on the success with which we associate his further intellectual training with his trade interests—on how far it is possible for us to make him understand that his personal aims and objects are essential constituents of the purposes of society and of the nation.

Besides the work of his trade there is another kind of work that affords the possibility of fascinating a boy, and that is the work connected with play and gymnastics. Here, in spite of all that gymnastic societies and athletic clubs have done, there is a fruitful field of civic education still uncultivated. Excellent means are afforded for giving a training in obedience, feeling of authority, self-control, sacrifice, physical courage, and so forth. But this is not all; one could successfully introduce that branch of intellectual training which we have appropriated to civic education, namely, a

practical and theoretical insight into the elements of the laws of health. Of course the indispensable virtues of moral courage, moral initiative, and moral responsibility are not directly exercised by games or athletics. For this purpose other arrangements must be made, of which we shall learn later.

6. In two ways the work of one's occupation thus shows itself an excellent means of civic training. Bearing in mind the financial and social conditions of very many boys, we may say that it is the most effective; directly, because it forms the basis for the cultivation of numerous endowments of will; indirectly, because the interest taken in it by the pupil is quickest to rivet and easiest to extend into a general interest. How far we are in a position to use this means depends more upon the insight which individuals, as well as clubs and associations, have into the range of this factor of education than upon the material means that are placed at the disposal of educational institutions. Above all, it is not necessary to demand, as Fichte did, a general, great, and public national effort. There are thousands of disconnected powers and possibilities in the land which can be made available for our purpose at a comparatively small outlay. Circumstances are here undoubtedly different from what they are in the public primary school, or in a training for the learned professions, institutions in which public management alone is conceivable. Social democracy demands, indeed, compulsory education of the citizen for all from birth up

to the age of entrance into public life. But so long as education implies a duty as well as a right in a family, and so long as we regard the duty as an invaluable factor in the teaching of altruism for the teacher himself, so long a good family life continues to be an effective means of education, and so long do we consider the demand unnecessary. So long again as thousands of our fellow-citizens desire, and are able, to perform this duty, a general national compulsory education would be nothing more than an immense waste of capital for an institution which, even in the most favorable circumstances, could offer only a very defective substitute for the individual education in the family and the trade. Societies, trade councils, guilds, gymnastic societies, sanitary associations, fire brigades, rescue committees, are in themselves valuable expedients for utilizing work as a means of education. Everything depends on gaining for them the material support and favorable attention of the State, the city, and private persons, and on directing their efforts to the same object by a liberal educational policy.

7. We shall see presently how this is to come about. We should like to utter a word of warning against placing too great a value on a premature and disconnected introduction of so-called general education, which for long was considered by the nation and society as the principal means of civic instruction. We do not wish it to be inferred that we are opponents of a general education; on the contrary, we consider it one

of the most praiseworthy ends of all education to form an independent view of the moral universe. This end is attainable by but few mortals. The heteronomous development of a firm will, directed to good purposes by means of discipline and habit, is for the overwhelming majority of men safer and quicker to arrive at than the development of a steady view of the world which influences the character automatically. Intelligence, indeed, influences the will, but it does not make the will. Even Herbart, who attached so great a value to the formation of a self-contained field of thought, points to the same conclusions when he says, "The view that instruction can replace the social basis [Bedingtheit] of education is equivalent to the view that a rushlight can replace the sun."[1] Beyond all this, the interests of those leaving the primary schools are centered, not in a general education, but in the special requirements of their occupations. It is here that we must begin, and whatever general education we can afford the pupil so as to help him understand his civic position must grow out of the cultivation of these interests. For "the most prevailing sentiment is that with which man views his ideal or practical ends. This sentiment moves him to seek the means of accomplishing his purpose, and in this way lays the foundation of a firm coördination of his whole range of perceptions."

8. Very little of what we have discussed can be

[1] Herbart, *Pädagogische Schriften,* sixth edition, edited by E. von Sallwürk, Langensalza, 1896 (Beyer und Söhne), Vol. I, p. 168.

assimilated by any one under twenty years of age who has not yet enjoyed a preëminently intellectual training. His own experience of life can offer nothing that will make up for his want of knowledge of the experience of others. The best that we can do for the pupil is to promote his physical and mental alertness so that later on he may easily pick up his book learning; to give him an increasing insight into the value of good work; to strengthen his sense of duty; and to repress his desire for intemperate indulgence by an awakening pleasure in his work. This pleasure taken in one's work is a pretty regular accompaniment of efficiency: the more all-round efficiency guarantees a gradual improvement of the conditions of life among the efficient, the more certain is this pleasure to occur. If, therefore, we promote efficiency, we in general promote the desire to work, and with it one of the strongest moral agencies in the education of mankind. Without it, the avenue to the goal of civic education is forever closed. With it, the attainment of our comprehensive aim may not be completely assured, but it is rendered increasingly probable.

CHAPTER V

THE SCHOLASTIC EDUCATIVE FORCES

1. The foregoing considerations lead us to the following conclusions: At first the strongest motive in the deliberate actions of mankind is egoism. In time a second permanent motive, called altruism, appears, and it affects the actions of mankind whether deliberate, spontaneous, or habitual. In proportion as the will is exercised on behalf of others and as our knowledge and experience of human life, its joys and sorrows, increase, our egoism becomes purified by education and insight, and altruism develops. This is the moral force κατ' ἐξοχήν. The dispute, as old as Aristotle and still undecided, whether this altruism is only a consistent egoism, purified and perfected by increasing insight, or only the moral development of a particular instinct, is not a matter for present discussion. Neither can we consider whether the two fundamental moral principles which indubitably guide every well-bred man, namely, those of moral self-assertion and of moral self-abnegation, are moral norms *a priori* or whether they are not synthetic results of experience which have gained in force with the development of culture. On the other hand, there appears to be no doubt that

wherever we have to rely on voluntary effort in our educational work—for instance, in the education of those young persons who have passed the age of compulsory attendance—altruism can be developed in only one way. We must begin by fixing our attention on the, at this stage, more powerful egoism. We must endeavor to direct attention to the interests of the community not by an isolated cultivation of the intellect, by theory or homily, but by everything that promises an improvement in the standard of comfort for the young man, and in the first place an efficient training in his trade or profession.

In this endeavor it is of prime importance to gain the good will of those societies with which the pupil will later on be connected, namely, the voluntary associations of employers and employed. For active coöperation in the voluntary exercise of the duty of education gives these associations their best opportunities for altruistic action. In this way the teacher is educated simultaneously with his pupils.

A living interest in the educational task can be aroused only by entrusting the associations of employers with some measure of responsibility for the care of schools for apprentices, specific rights being given and specific duties imposed, and by expecting them to make some sacrifice for the good cause. In all societies there are individual members who are naturally favorable to these proposals. On them will fall the burden of taking the lead in our reforms. Experience teaches us

that if the school is efficiently organized to a good purpose, employers who at first are somewhat hostile will gradually become advocates of its educational policy under the force of accomplished facts.

2. We have therefore indicated the following methods of providing a civic education for the masses: Public educational opportunities must be provided for all pupils leaving the primary school who do not proceed to higher schools. These opportunities must relate immediately to the occupation of the individual and thus, as far as possible, rivet his attention. Whether attendance should be compulsory or not depends on so many considerations that it is impossible to prescribe for all cases. Regarded theoretically, optional arrangements of this nature are preferable, especially those which are not made by the State but result from the action of free societies. But the actual state of affairs, as created and modified by the democratic, social, and political events of the past century, is extremely unfavorable to the theoretical considerations, which begin by assuming the existence of an adult population already cognizant of its civic duties.[1]

Until these conditions change we must unreservedly demand (*a*) that during the first stage of civic education—that is, during apprenticeship,—the opportunities for education and training must be ample and attendance compulsory; (*b*) that at first the State and the local authority must take the initiative, meet the

[1] Cf. Chaps. III. and VIII.

greater part of the expense, and exercise the whole function of supervision; (*c*) that in the second stage of civic education optional classes shall be formed in connection with the compulsory classes; (*d*) that in every case the coöperation of trade associations in these public arrangements must be secured in matters of instruction as well as in organization, deliberation, and administration.

3. Little attention has as yet been paid to the last of these demands either in Germany or in other countries. And yet, according to what we have already shown, it is a fundamental demand. It means nothing less than a huge extension of all the moral advantages which the business of education offers to the educator. Karl vom Stein once asserted that participation in public affairs is the surest way of completing the moral and intellectual development of a people. On another occasion he remarked that public spirit is formed only by direct participation in public affairs, and care must be taken to direct the attention of the whole body of the nation to the management of its own affairs.[1] These remarks show that one side of the demand put forward by us has already received recognition. For the greatest concern of any people is the education of the rising generation; and, without doubt, among the capable masters and older workmen there are many unexercised educative forces in addition to the forces

[1] Cf. Klingele, *Des Freiherrn vom Stein Grundsätze und Ansichten*, Freiburg (Mohr), pp. 71, 72, 75.

exercised by those who have made teaching their profession. While Stein's remarks point to the importance of our demand as regards the education of the teacher himself, a second valuable aspect is shown by the peculiar influence on the pupil which results from it.

For many reasons the professional teacher is indispensable in the training of the apprentice. But his relations with the young apprentice are certainly more constrained than those of an efficient, skilled workman, with whom, later on, the apprentice will have to share the burdens and still later the commercial interests of the trade. The apprentice now sees the master or journeyman, whose rival he will become later, taking trouble to develop all the powers which will eventually make him a good fellow-workman. He sees the whole guild, trade association, factory institute, taking a lively interest in his own self. He sees and feels in the many regulations a loyal subordination of the individual to the majority. It would be astonishing if no vigorous germs of solidarity were to spring from these relations, at least among the most efficient pupils. The development of that greater form of public spirit which we call love of country is only possible under these conditions.

An abundant justification for these conclusions is shown by a study of the English labor unions and factory clubs, whose important educational influence has been emphasized by many political economists.[1] John

[1] Cf. Von Nostitz, op. cit., pp. 741, 742.

Stuart Mill goes so far as to say: "Coöperative associations, by the very process of their success, are a course of education in those moral and active qualities by which alone success can be either deserved or attained." [1] But this moral value is developed through participation in the educative work of the State. One cannot go so far as Euler,[2] who, in an otherwise excellent article, advocates the abolition of the national continuation school, and would exclude from the apprentices' school all teachers who have not received a technical training and place the management of these schools entirely in the hands of the guilds. "The education of the apprentice confined to the masters and the trade associations" is his watchword. But our masters are as a rule incompetent to give any education, above all a civic education, and this incompetence we must ascribe to centuries of incredible neglect. The labor unions are too much taken up with questions of wage-adjustment and special aims of a political or ecclesiastical nature, in direct contrast to the older English trade unions which not infrequently embodied in their articles of association, and consciously followed, aims ideal in nature, directed toward the maintenance of the State.[3] In all the larger workmen's unions of Germany,

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[1] J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Book IV, Chap. VII, sec. 6.

[2] Euler, *Reform des Handwerker-, Fach-, und Fortbildungswesens*, Wiesbaden, 1900 (Pflaum), pp. 9, 15, 32.

[3] Von Nostitz gives references on page 742 of his work to the articles of the boilermakers' and shipbuilders' union. See also J. S. Mill,

are to be found excellent individuals whose views are not obscured by party interests or wage questions, whose sympathies are not confined to their own class, and whose energies only require to find the right direction for them to exercise a beneficent influence far beyond their own immediate trade circle. I consider it one of the noblest tasks of our educational authorities, national as well as local, to discover these individuals; to inspire them for the purpose of educating posterity; to instruct them thoroughly in the matter; to explain to them the objects in view; to gain through them the support of the unions for these common objects; and to assist the unions, when won over, with all the means in their power, and then not to control them in a narrow-minded manner but allow them to develop an increasing independence proportioned to their moral strength.

4. An efficient organization of the trade continuation school so as to meet the needs of various trade groups of different sizes is the cardinal point of our earliest civic education. In comparison with the opposing domestic, social, and political relations this expedient may appear insignificant. The effectiveness of a special continuation school, as compared with monotechnical training schools and well-appointed technical

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Political Economy, Book IV, Chap. VII, sec. 6: "By the stipulations of most of the contracts, even if the association breaks up, the capital cannot be divided, but must be devoted entire to some work of beneficence or of public utility."

institutes, may appear to be limited. However this may be, the law of the summation of an infinite number of indefinitely small positive quantities holds for it. These expedients provide for all peoples without exception. The cost is not burdensome, and the projected organization encroaches as little as possible on business relations.

If this compulsory continuation school is to be a valuable educative force in the public organization it must extend to the whole time of apprenticeship and must apply equally to the unskilled worker and to the casual laborer. If it is to have any educative influence, as opposed to the influences of everyday life, attendance must be required for from eight to ten hours a week, and that at a time of the day when the pupil's receptive powers can profit by the moral and intellectual stimulus afforded. If it is to meet the requirements of civic education, as well as those of technical and intellectual life, it must comprise the following divisions:

(*a*) Instruction, both practical and technical, such as arises out of work in school workshops, laboratories, and school gardens. The subjects taught in this division will be practical work, drawing, modeling, knowledge of materials and tools, and technical physics and chemistry as required in the trade concerned. Instructors must be drawn from the pupils' trade, and the interest of a corresponding trade association must be secured.

(*b*) Theoretical instruction of trade importance. This must be given in the main by professional teachers

and will comprise business correspondence, trade arithmetic and book-keeping, and, as required, foreign languages, botany, zoölogy, mineralogy, a general course of physics and chemistry, commercial geography, and history of art. Instruction in the mother tongue will be given in connection with a good school library, with the object of improving taste and giving pleasure by continual reference to the best native literature.

(*c*) Practical civic training, developed on the one hand by a methodical organization of the work in (*a*), on the other hand by special arrangements for organizing school life on the models of the self-governing corporations. Opportunities are afforded by the establishment of school savings banks, managed by a committee of pupils; self-government,—inviting the coöperation of pupils in the maintenance of discipline and in the management of the school and class library by making them responsible for the books and materials, the tidiness of the workshop, classroom, laboratory, and experimental gardens; the holding of social entertainments and festivals; the introduction of clubs for athletics, gymnastics, first aid, and fire-brigade work.

(*d*) Theoretical civic instruction, to be given by the professional teacher. It comprises Bürgerkunde (civics) and Lebenskunde (hygiene) and, as regards the selection of matter and method, is in the closest connection with the practical technical instruction and the other organizations outlined in (*c*).

Instruction in the compulsory continuation school, that is, in the lower division, must not exhaust the matter to be treated. It must be directed toward the creation of an abiding desire to attend voluntarily the further training given in the senior division, and must make the greatest number of pupils alive to the necessity of this step.

In the senior division the work will be freer from restraint and admit of more variety without entirely disregarding the four groups of instruction of the lower division. In all the larger towns both divisions must be in charge of a superintendent who is fully alive to the technical as well as to the civic importance of the work.[1] The divisions must also be housed in buildings specially adapted to their requirements. The senior division will then be the meeting place for people's improvement societies, university extension societies, and health lectures, where, in connection with the whole scheme of instruction, libraries, reading rooms, and collections of artistic or technical importance may be exhibited.

This then is a brief description of the complete scheme which we suggest for a continuation school whose immediate object is to give a civic education to young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty. It is a natural product of the inner conditions which we have already discussed; for it first of all lays hold of

[1] Compare the author's *Beobachtungen und Vergleiche über gewerbliche Erziehung ausserhalb Bayern*, Munich, 1901 (Carl Gerber), pp. 232-245.

the pupil through his selfish interests, that is to say, his occupation; teaches him by means of intellectual and manual labor; directs his mind to a reasonable civic and domestic life by instruction and practical work; combines the interests of the individual with the interests of the whole, and that by practical instruction and Bürgerkunde as well as by the coöperation of social unions in the whole work of education; allows the greatest possible number of all ranks to take part in the work, and thus cultivates in the pupil, and in the teacher as well, a feeling of solidarity and altruistic inclinations.

5. It is not our purpose to describe in detail all the parts of this school organization. We believe we have sufficiently explained and demonstrated its importance for the whole scheme of civic education. We have now to consider in what manner the theoretical civic instruction can make itself effective. For a number of years some instruction of this kind, to which various names have been given, has been required. The view has even been expressed that it should be introduced into the upper classes of the primary school.

As a matter of fact, France has met this demand since 1883 by introducing *instructions morales et civiques* into her primary, technical, and secondary schools. But according to the opinions which have reached us, the expectations entertained have not been fulfilled, at least in the primary school, to any large extent. In German continuation schools, with few exceptions, the

demands up to the present have passed unheeded. Attempts to meet them came to grief for the following reasons. The abstract material was too dry, the pupils were mentally too immature, the time allotted was inadequate, the teachers were insufficiently trained for their task, and there was no genuine conviction that the instruction was necessary. Whoever knows the kind of pupils attending our compulsory continuation schools will further admit that instruction of this kind has to cope with a great want of interest, and whoever takes a look at the corresponding school literature [1] will all the more easily understand the reason. And yet we ought to try to arouse by every means, even in the junior division of the continuation school, a lively interest in these questions, so that the senior division, whose aims are much farther reaching, will not appeal in vain to pupils of experience and greater intellectual powers.

We now proceed to indicate some ways of instruction which appear to offer a better prospect of success than those already suggested in existing literature. They also proceed from the egoism of the pupil, and in the whole instruction of the elementary division they continually thwart its influence.

One way is afforded by the history of manufacture, especially of the pupil's trade. The majority of trades, and in particular those connected with applied art, have

[1] See Pache, op. cit., Part V, pp. 72, 73, 74, 103, 114. The best schoolbook in Germany is I. Lex, *Lebens- und Bürgerkunde,* Munich, 1905 (C. Gerber).

a past rich in events and in characteristic personalities. The life of the guilds in the Middle Ages, their exclusiveness and community of interests, their prosperity and decline, the benefits and disadvantages for the individual members of the trade, the collapse of manufactures after the Thirty Years' War, the gradual recovery, the new struggle of the nineteenth century,—all these events contain a richness of incident which without doubt exercises a powerful attraction on the apprentice, even in the exceptional case when the interest in the trade is meager. For history always has an absorbing interest for young people. The teacher has abundant opportunities of introducing striking incidents of general history, of sketching the manifold connection of the interests of the individual with those of the community, of pointing out the fundamental axioms of a sound national economy, of discussing the elements of the constitution and the legislative bodies, so far as these are within the compass of the pupils' intelligence.[1]

A similar method, especially suited for schools in large industrial centers, is afforded by the history of the factory worker in the nineteenth century, in discussing which emphasis can be laid on the trade the pupil has chosen. Here there is room for a textbook

[1] The Zentralstelle für Arbeiterwohlfahrtseinrichtungen organized a conference in Munich, May 6-7, 1901. On page 40 of the preliminary syllabus of this conference the time-table for the apprentices' continuation school of the Imperial torpedo factory in Friedrichsort is given. It contains provisions for instruction in civics as here advocated.

similar to the brilliant work of Von Nostitz, from which we have so often quoted,[1] less ambitious indeed in content and extent but marked by the same enthusiasm. There are many events which, properly treated, cannot fail to produce an effect on the pupil, for example, the inspiring spectacle of a courageous struggle full of trust in God, patriotism, human joy and suffering, active participation by prominent men, the illuminating acts of good-fellowship, the devotion of both clergy and laity to the care of the poor and weak, acts of self-denial and of perseverance, and withal a continual advancè, a constant improvement in the lot of the capable and diligent. Step by step we should meet the most burning questions of social life,—protection of labor, constitution of trade unions, housing conditions, questions relating to the constitution, means of communication, and many others of a more general ethical character.

A third method, directly connected with practical instruction is afforded us by a consideration of materials and tools. It is equally open to all continuation schools, whether commercial, industrial, or agricultural. It arises out of the consideration of raw products, the manufacture or sale of which concerns the pupils' trade. For example, the civic education in agricultural schools would be based on corn or cattle raising, two occupations which at once arrest the attention of most

[1] *Das Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes in England*, Jena (Fischer).

country boys. Corn raising, the conditions of work and wages, its progress and importance in the home country, suggests the consideration of similar conditions in other countries, among neighboring nations, and the total yield of the earth. The discussion then deals with the corn trade and the price of corn, and goes on to consider changes of price, and the legal and illegal means of effecting them, the advantages and disadvantages of high prices for corn, custom duties on corn and duties on manufactured articles, the history of duties with reference to home conditions, the men who played a prominent part in this history, the interrelations of industry and agriculture, the importance of industries in themselves and for the agriculturist, commercial treaties and the bodies which conclude them, and the constitution of the empire and of the states comprised in it.

While the method thus indicated can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to all continuation schools, the following is more especially suited for the agricultural schools. It begins with private law and discusses the manifold questions of private law as they arise between Richard Roe and John Doe and their holdings. It passes on to discuss corresponding relations between the home parish and a neighboring parish, between two districts, then between two counties and between constituent states. Finally the affairs of the empire are passed in review. The greater part of the instruction, according to this method, relates to concrete examples

and can be limited to them in the advanced lessons. It provides the most varied examples of the dependence of the interests of the individual on those of the community, of the necessity for common undertakings, common burdens, and common duties. But it assumes to start with a thorough acquaintance with jurisprudence, and therefore for the present can be introduced only in those schools which possess a law lecturer.

Many other methods may be suggested. To be serviceable each must possess the following characteristics:

(*a*) It must at first pay attention to the egoistic trade interests of the pupil and then slowly and unconstrainedly lead to a consideration of the general interests of the State, towards which the interests of the individual, properly understood, converge.

(*b*) It must deal as long as possible with concrete cases occurring in the trade concerned, be closely connected with the instruction and organization of the school, and in every case disregard any scheme that is founded on definitions.

(*c*) It must keep itself independent of politics of all kinds and from participation in political agitation, whether this is favorable or inimical to our views of a State's functions.

(*d*) It must introduce naturally striking incidents in national history, or characteristic moral personalities.

An attempt to set up any ethical code or legal system, even to consider anything of the kind, is sure to

meet with failure at this stage. The same may be said of every attempt which focuses instruction on general economic ideas. But the last-mentioned methods are those which have been principally followed in textbooks up to the present day. A great opportunity is here presented to men with profound knowledge of law, economics, and the history of civilization, and a naturally methodical cast of mind. If once the interest in the constitution of society is awakened by such introductory instruction, then an attempt may be made in the second stage to coördinate the simple results of the previous instruction in a methodical manner. Experience will probably show that in this case also the methods we have described are the best to follow.

6. In addition to the knowledge of the community of interest of all fellow-citizens, the object we have set before us requires a knowledge of hygiene. As with civic education proper, this will be arrived at by instruction and by direct education. As to instruction in hygiene, the subject can be included as "Lebenskunde," in the lessons on "Bürgerkunde," or as trade-hygiene in the lessons on "Gewerbekunde," that is, in the practical classes. Or it may be included in the theoretical discussion of health which is practically necessary for gymnastic instruction, athletics, and excursions. When there is a good foundation of primary education, and this may be assumed to be the case in most German towns, this section of civic education offers no difficulties.

The solution of the difficulty consists, on the one hand, in applying to a reasonable way of life the conclusions drawn from a carefully considered course of natural science; and on the other, in constant reference to the laws of health, already conclusively demonstrated, and to their observance, first of all in school, then during practical instruction, and finally at games and other forms of exercise. And here we would earnestly implore teachers to base all so-called health rules on actual knowledge of the scientific laws that underlie them. The pupil must not simply believe them; he must be convinced of their truth by his own knowledge. But infinitely more effective than all health rules are custom, example, and the attention of the teacher to matters of health, in all that he undertakes.

The demands put forward to-day may quite well be satisfied to-morrow in all regulations issued either by the State or by the local authority. There is little reason for astonishment at the prominence we have given to an efficient treatment of hygiene in our curricula when we call to mind how the greater part of our population abuses its physical powers in an incredibly thoughtless manner, how the young workingman treats matters of health with no regard to consequences, how superstitious the masses are in relying on quacks and charlatans, and how entirely ignorant people remain of natural laws which cannot be broken with impunity. The consideration of a complete system of hygiene must be deferred until the second stage of our

educational organization is reached. Here the people's health societies have been able to do much excellent work in connection with the advanced technical and industrial schools in Germany, as they are able to secure the services of skilful and well-trained medical men for the purposes of instruction. Activity of this kind will be the more fruitful the more skilful the individual teacher is in making his lessons suitable for the trade or the vital interests of his audience.

The civic education of the continuation school ought not to be limited to mere teaching. On the contrary, teaching by itself, however carefully organized, however spiritedly given, can never be a substitute for practical civic education. Practical education is the fundamental condition that theoretical education may be successful. It is almost incredible that such an elementary proposition, which has been considered the base of all education from the time of Aristotle, should require such persistent enunciation. It is almost incredible that teachers and managers should be content with having inserted "civic education" in their curricula, even to-day (1910), ten years after the first edition of this book, when the cause of civic education has gained so many adherents.

7. How far practical instruction is able to promote civic education will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter. We will confine our attention for the present to two schemes, already alluded to: evening meetings for gymnastics and for social

intercourse. Every one who has devoted himself to gymnastics is aware of the immense influence on the discipline of the will which systematic gymnastic practice affords. Unfortunately there are many difficulties attending the compulsory introduction of such training: the widely spread idea that the pupil gets enough exercise at his trade, and the lack of time; for the small amount of leisure which the apprentice enjoys during the day for the purpose of attending continuation classes is absolutely necessary for other instruction. In France people understand matters better. In most technical schools and workshops gymnastic practice is a compulsory subject, it being justly recognized that, though the monotonous routine of the workshop implies a use of the physical powers, it is far from being an all-round physical training which is well directed and organized on scientific principles, and that there are few better means of training the will in school than by gymnastics. For the present we must content ourselves with making gymnastic practice and excursions optional. If arrangements can be made for holding gymnastic classes at the school, and a leading gymnastic society can be induced to undertake control and supervise the instruction, excellent results will be obtained. If the superintendent is the right man it is not hard to interest small groups of pupils in gymnastics and games and to hold one meeting a week in the compulsory continuation school, since the pupils who are keen for physical exercise soon attract a number of their

companions. Proof of this is afforded by those towns which have organized gymnastic practice on Sunday afternoons in connection with the continuation schools. Given that the class leader is a proficient member of a gymnastic society, best of all a mechanic or artisan, then he will have no difficulty in attracting a large number of pupils and retaining them as permanent members of his class. From these pupils the gymnastic societies will eventually be recruited, and the sequence of events will be repeated. This procedure we highly approve of, because we think that our gymnastic societies, which draw their members from all classes, are a good means of fostering national and civic ideas. We shall return to this point later. Moreover, the optional character of the gymnastic lesson does not affect the requirement that attendance at the continuation school shall be compulsory. We even consider the organization of supplementary optional classes very useful in the junior division as a means of selecting the proficient. In the numerous communities which succeed in organizing a compulsory continuation school only when they demand a small amount of time for attendance during the day, these optional classes become a *sine qua non.*

8. A permanent arrangement, at which attendance is optional, is afforded by the evening entertainments. We owe the conception of them to Oskar Pache, the well-known director of the Fourth Continuation School in Leipzig, a man who has done much for the German

continuation school. The principal object of these evening meetings is not entertainment in itself, but an endeavor to direct the justifiable desire for enjoyment of the manufacturing classes into nobler paths and to support an important side of national education. The greater part of our apprentices receive in their homes no intellectual stimulus whatever, and moral stimulus is often absent also. Outside their trade they have little or no opportunity of forming their tastes, and higher pleasures are almost entirely denied them. But the necessity of enjoyment is shared by every one. If it cannot be directed into noble channels it satisfies itself only too readily in obscurer byways. It is therefore very unfortunate that our public arrangements do little or nothing to direct the people's desire for enjoyment into respectable channels. If a person is once accustomed to take his pleasure in drinking clubs and low music halls, or other equally disreputable haunts, we shall usually find it difficult to induce him to accept better things. Here we must begin with the young people, and two very attractive means present themselves at once: the gymnastic classes already mentioned, and the evening entertainments, held every six or eight weeks, such as Pache introduced into his school. The most opportune time for holding them is afforded by the anniversaries of the birth or death of great men, especially of those in whom the school is most interested, or by the anniversaries of historic events. Proceedings are confined to

an address on the importance of the event celebrated, performances by the pupils, singing, declamations, or gymnastics. Masters and parents receive invitations to be present. The organization and arrangements for such evenings are, with great advantage, entrusted gradually to the pupils. The school staff only suggests improvements or supplies deficiencies when this is obviously needed. The cost of such entertainments is small. Beyond a large hall (the gymnasium often suffices), the performances require a tactful and enthusiastic manager and a school staff ready to support him loyally. No payment for the time spent, however liberal it may be, can ever insure the devotion, love, and sacrifice which such entertainments call for, if they are to attain their worthy objects. If other conditions are satisfied we have no doubt that here and there managers and teachers will be found fit to undertake the task, and we are convinced that many undesirable occurrences will disappear from the life of the people if we succeed in teaching them the rational enjoyment of leisure. This will be all the more possible when popular entertainment societies, cheap and good theaters, and popular concerts continue the task begun, as indicated, in the continuation school.

9. The organization of the continuation school, thus outlined, has been in full operation in Munich since September, 1906. In seven great central Gewerbeschulen and several primary schools there are forty-three different technical continuation schools for

apprentices in skilled trades, with eighty lecture rooms and sixty workshops. In twelve different centers of the town there are continuation schools for unskilled workers, day laborers, errand boys, and boys without any occupation. In connection with each technical continuation school there is a trade society, where such exists, working in the manner already described. From very many of these schools for apprentices schools for journeymen have sprung up, which use the same school building and the same workshops. In addition to these classes for journeymen, instruction in which is given in the evenings and on Sundays, day schools with and without workshops will be necessary for such journeymen as desire the advanced training given in the day technical school. Here the week's work amounts to thirty-six hours and the instruction includes commercial, technical, and art subjects. In the division for apprentices instruction will extend over from eight to ten hours a week. The greater the claims a trade imposes on the intelligence and skill of the tradesman the more extended the course of instruction must be.

In most of these cases instruction is given on two half-days a week, but not infrequently the whole of a week day is appropriated. Technical instruction and drawing lessons are given by masters or journeymen, or by specially experienced technical teachers; civic education and general subjects are in the hands of specially trained professional teachers. The teaching of science and modern languages is entrusted to

graduate teachers. From time to time shorter complete courses for masters are held to show them the latest improvements, or to exhibit new materials, methods of production, or machines. In the autumn of 1908 the number of pupils enrolled in the compulsory continuation classes amounted to seven thousand two hundred, the number in the voluntary division for journeymen to about two thousand six hundred. The ten thousand or more pupils were divided into about three hundred classes. The current cost for the year 1908 amounted to over one million marks (=50,000£=$250,000), including the annual grant of 150,000 M (=7,500£=$37,000) for new buildings, so that at present the individual pupil,—apprentice, journeyman, or master—costs about one hundred marks per annum. When the building grant expires the cost will be reduced to ninety marks per annum, that is to say, about the same amount that a primary pupil costs in Munich. Example shows that, at least in the larger towns, the organization described is possible of achievement, that the selfish opposition of the masses can be overcome, that the cost is moderate, that the time demanded for instruction is possible to afford and sufficient for elementary needs, that the trade associations take a warm interest in the work, and that suitable teaching power is available.[1]

[1] In its main features the organization is suited to the economic requirements of Munich as an industrial center. In towns with a more pronounced manufacturing character the organization may be modified,

10. In the country a similar organization is possible.[1] The poverty of many country districts is undoubtedly an obstacle; so also is the lack of suitable small local agricultural societies; but the greatest obstacle is the still greater lack of business ability and political discernment in the agricultural population. For a long time to come very great care must be given to the country schools by the State, the provinces, and the provincial agricultural schools. As a matter of fact almost all German governments have long shown themselves exceedingly ready to lend assistance. The

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provided the general principles are observed. Examples of modification will be afforded by the garden city, Hellerau, of the Dresden Furniture Company; the Siemens-Schuckert factory in Nuremberg; the works of Bayer & Company in Elberfeld; those of the General Electric Company in Lynn, Massachusetts; the workshops of Hoe & Company in New York; and the stores of John Wanamaker in Philadelphia. A very interesting organization, the system of coöperative education, is shown at the University of Cincinnati. About thirty-five of the largest engineering and electrical firms in Cincinnati and the neighborhood agreed in 1906 to send a definite number of apprentices to special day classes at the university. Apprentices are classified in couples; while one attends the university, the other is at work in the shops. At the end of the week the rôles are exchanged. The total course under these circumstances lasts six years. The great educational advantages thus offered will be readily appreciated by the reader. For applications to British engineering works see, further, reports in Professor Sadler's *The Continuation Schools of England and Elsewhere,* and the report on the training of the engineer published by W. Clowes & Company for the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1906.

[1] See, further, the author's paper read at the meeting of the Deutsche Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft on February 24, 1909, in Berlin. This is published in the March number of *Die Deutsche Schule* and in the Yearbook of the Gesellschaft for 1909.

agricultural winter schools, the farm and market gardening schools, and the system of traveling teachers have everywhere enjoyed generous support from public sources. But up to the present day they devote themselves exclusively to technical training, and influence but a small percentage of the agricultural population. On the other hand, where the agricultural continuation school depends for its existence on the country parish, with a few scattered exceptions, nothing of any value has been achieved.

Now the inner conditions for the organization of these schools as institutions giving civic education are exactly the same as for the industrial schools. Above all, and more than in any other occupation, allowance must be made for the egoism of the country population. Most German states have issued official instructions with regard to these agricultural schools. In the older codes it was usual to find the work of these schools limited to a repetition and extension of what was taught in the primary school. This has shown itself to be an absolute mistake. The schools had then no attraction whatever and were not suited even for much more insignificant purposes than those we have mentioned. The business requirements of the peasant must form the foundation of the curriculum, and local circumstances must be considered, for example, questions relating to arable, meadow, and forest land, care of orchards and production of vegetables, the rearing of cattle, pigs, and poultry, and bee keeping. The

shortcomings of the old school and the fundamental requirements of our plan of organization have been dealt with in the Prussian bylaw of October 30, 1895. But traditional views and obstacles, especially the Landesoekonomiekollegium [1] [Board of Agriculture], still hinder the introduction of practical instruction. So far as possible some part of the instruction must be practical, for the peasant wishes to see concrete results as soon as possible.

Wherever available, the services of a capable local farmer, sufficiently remunerated, should be secured for practical instruction. This is one of the best ways of making the school popular, and it meets our demand for an extension of the field of education. The remaining instruction centers round this work, first of all the theory, with German and arithmetic, then the civic instruction and health lectures. We have already shown, in section 5 of this chapter, how this can be managed. The practice of the local fire brigade is an excellent substitute for the gymnastic instruction and the gymnastic club. It is by no means easy to comprehend why such a prominent and useful society has not been employed more for the purposes of civic education, although the instruction of August 22, 1882, issued by the Hessian government, quite clearly points out the possibilities.[2]

[1] Cf. Pache, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.

[2] Cf. Pache, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 140.

If a community is not strong enough by itself to support a school, neighboring communities can combine with it to form a continuation school district, just as they do to form a day-school district. Instruction in theory, perhaps also in gymnastics, is given during the winter months—from November to February—and may claim three or four afternoons a week. The time of instruction is far from offering the same difficulty in the country as it does in the towns. Practical instruction, and perhaps some theory, may be taken for the rest of the year. A large allotment must be available for this purpose, and it may not be so very difficult to make a profit out of the venture. Conditions are much more favorable here than in the industries, where the sale of the articles produced in the workshops may affect the returns of the small trader.

In 1908 Prussia had 3,485 continuation schools with 51,000 pupils and altogether 291,000 hours of instruction, that is, 83 per annum for each school. In Bavaria the compulsory Sunday schools have existed in the country for a century. In 1906 there were 7,065 of them with 291,000 pupils and 80 hours of instruction annually per school. These schools will become of importance only when the government energetically bestirs itself to reorganize them in the manner we propose. Experience has shown that in Prussia also opposition to their conversion into compulsory schools has been trifling. In the agricultural schools we must, however, insist on attendance being compulsory, because

only thereby can we gain the objects we have advocated; because also, as a result of intimate personal relations, a bad example in the attendance at an optional school is much more infectious in country schools than in a large town. When local conditions are not at all favorable the senior divisions of schools, for pupils between the ages of seventeen and twenty, can be transferred to the agricultural schools, though to be effective the latter are likewise greatly in need of a thorough reconstruction.

11. In addition to the continuation schools there are a number of better equipped technical schools in Germany which, with their greater means, can encourage civic education, partly in the manner already indicated, partly by means of a broad-minded general education. This is evident from the prospectus of any of the numerous French technical schools—the écoles Turgot, Lavoisier, Colbert, J. B. Say, and Arago in Paris, which, starting from the foundation given in the primary school, prepare their pupils for direct entrance to commerce, manufacture, industry, art, or the higher technical schools. In the program of instruction,[1] which extends to three or four years, the following subjects are included: *enseignement moral, instruction civique, hygiène, travail manuel, gymnastique, droit usuel, économie politique.* Even the most prominent manual training schools, such as the école Diderot for

[1] That is, écoles primaires supérieures. Cf. *Rapport sur l'organisation et la situation de l'enseignement primaire*, Paris, pp. 380-382.

the metal-working trades, or the école Estienne for the printing trades and allied arts, have included in their programs, as obligatory subjects, gymnastics, hygiene, and economics, in addition to special instruction in history. In Germany, on the other hand, we should have great difficulty in finding any school, with similar objects, which shows in its organization the same insight into the necessity for civic education. On the contrary, the corresponding German schools have been established to divert attention from the community and to fix it on the egoistic trade interests, as is shown in the absolute want of every general formative discipline like literature or history. We believe it is sufficient to point out this weak spot of our German technical schools. The remedy is easy; in schools with all-day instruction the way is obvious when the will is exerted.

12. If we consider the monotechnical day schools the matter becomes more difficult. Among the publicly provided schools they are the surest to foster civic education in the manufacturing population. But they have their disadvantages. They are the costliest of all schools. They make it easy for the pupil whose ambition is greater than his capacity to forsake a career in which he could succeed for one of greater distinction in which he is almost bound to fail. To regard them, and to organize them, simply as institutions for the encouragement of industrial efficiency is a great error. An immeasurably greater insight was shown by Gréard in February, 1872, when he sent a report to the

magistracy of Paris advocating the establishment of manual training shops not simply to maintain the world-renowned excellence of the Parisian industries but also "to prevent the man from disappearing in the apprentice and the citizen in the workman." A year later the first manual working shop (l'école Diderot) was opened as a metal-working school, and within sixteen years six more followed, whose yearly budgets, including six training schools for girls, in 1900 accounted for not less than one and three-quarter million francs. Not a single large town in Germany can offer anything to compare with this.[1] The manual training shop enrols the pupil at the age of fourteen and keeps him in strong discipline and good habits until he has completed his seventeenth or eighteenth year. Biased political influences are thus averted during the most dangerous period of development. Industrial training is encouraged simultaneously with physical and manual; a systematic teaching excludes all thoughtless working. Hygiene, gymnastics, athletics, Bürger- und Lebenskunde, even literature and history, find sufficient time in the weekly time-table of the monotechnical day school. Both eye and hand are constantly exercised in artistic perception—in fact, all that we are laboriously striving to obtain in our compulsory and optional continuation

[1] In forming an estimate of these schools it must be borne in mind that there is a large mass of youthful workers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who receive no thorough instruction whatever. The remarks in the text apply to a select few.

schools finds without difficulty a place of nurture, and really occupies it, in many French manual training shops. What enormous sums we spend on training for the liberal professions, in order to produce not simply commonplace people but also men and citizens! Ought not the same object to be followed in the education of other members of the community? It is not necessary, or still less possible, to give every farmer, shopkeeper, and tradesman a public education of this sort. It will be enough, for the present, if here and there large towns of Germany establish monotechnical day schools, so that the physically and intellectually ablest may be made good citizens. Those thus educated will in turn become educators. These places of industrial training will thus form an inexhaustible source of influence, which can be preserved from contamination more easily than any other: one which will promote civic as well as business interests. What we are spending infinite care and trouble on to-day, the widening of the bases of our educational system, will become much easier of success when we have once produced these pioneers.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPORTANCE OF PRACTICAL WORK IN SCHOOLS

1. It is singularly noticeable in Germany that whenever the school is asked to undertake a new departure, whether intellectual or moral, the schoolmaster immediately sets about his work with oral instruction. This was the case with the whole of natural science work, and it is so to-day with civic education, although instruction by itself is quite insufficient for both of these subjects. This can be explained on the one hand by the historical development of the German school, and on the other by the less troublesome and cheaper means of arranging the work. Since the first appearance of this book the idea of the necessity and possibility of civic education of the masses by means of the continuation school has slowly but surely gained ground. But wherever we look we find the new apostles recommending only civic instruction, although Förster, in his book *Schule und Charakter*, has given many examples from American and English schools to show that teaching and the formation of character are two entirely different things. Knowledge of civics is not the most pressing need of our schools. The first and most pressing need is the exercise of civic virtues.

A knowledge of civics can be obtained without the intervention of a school. There are not only hundreds of books which satisfy requirements and are suited to the most modest as well as to the most ambitious of intellects: the organs of all parties do their utmost to supply any lack of school instruction in this respect. Civic virtues, however, flourish only on the foundation of a systematic civic education. No number of books and no amount of teaching will ever produce them. Civic knowledge may be possessed by the most hardened egoist as well as by the most arrant rogue, and civic virtues may be found where knowledge of the work and working of a State is entirely absent. In the organization of the continuation and technical schools (and in other institutions also) everything depends on insuring a proper grasp of the connections between the interests of the individual and those of the State. Opportunities will be afforded in the school by a systematic introduction to the exercise of self-command, justice, and unselfishness under a strong feeling of responsibility.

Our continuation school will become a valuable school for civic education only when its organization is permeated with the thought that moral education is more important than intellectual and that, as has been shown in Chapter IV, this moral education can be given only by cheerful work in the service of others. Only in this way can the pupil recognize that his own aims and purposes are essential elements of the aims

and purposes of the nation, that is to say, that the well-organized State has the greatest possible value for him. Only in this way shall we succeed in winning the ready and sincere coöperation of the most straightforward members of all political parties, because civic education in this sense must be appreciated by all persons of honorable motives.

2. In order to make civic education possible the two ways indicated in Chapter V, section 4 (*b*) are at our disposal: (*a*) the proper methodical arrangement of practical activity in the school workshops and other institutions for intellectual and manual work; (*b*) the organization of school life on the lines of a self-governing society.

Without further controversy every one will allow that the workshops and laboratories of our primary and continuation schools in Munich are excellent training grounds for the simple elementary virtues such as exactness, conscientiousness, carefulness, straightforwardness. All honest work is in itself a school of morality, at least so far as moral self-assertion [1] is concerned. The most serious of our masters and managers recognize that an overpowering majority of our apprenticeships are nothing less than training grounds for these moral qualities. Every one who has ever been entrusted with the education of such people knows that the juvenile unemployed, or those who prematurely

[1] Cf. H. Schwartz, *Das sittliche Leben* (Reuter und Reinhard), Berlin.

find their way into mechanical or unskilled labor, present the greatest difficulties as regards moral instruction. The simple virtues of moral self-assertion grow only out of right action and that love of the work which is the direct consequence of our systematic training to work.

When the necessary intellectual aptitude is to be found—for example, in all our higher schools—these elementary virtues may be the result of purely intellectual work. In these circumstances manual training has no advantage over intellectual. If greater importance must be attached by primary and continuation schools to manual training this is abundantly justified by the fact that intellectual discipline, if it is to succeed at all, can only assume the severe form which produces the virtues mentioned with pupils of maturer growth. But these simple virtues are still not civic virtues, or, as we may say, the virtues of moral self-assertion are in general not those of moral self-denial. They become so if they are employed in the service of others. Herein lies the invaluable advantage of practical work in the school laboratory, school workshop, school kitchen, and school garden—that it can take unobtrusively the form of joint-work, an advantage which is seldom shared by intellectual work. As soon as pupils have once acquired for themselves the necessary manual dexterity, which is usually in the second year of the course, groups of pupils, at times even whole classes, can be formed to execute a piece of work of some

magnitude. Success and failure are then felt by all; joy of creation and disappointment of hopes are a joint experience. The ambition of the individual must adapt itself to the ambition of the class. The performance of the individual is not prominent above that of the class. The feeling of responsibility for one's work is best developed in this manner, a feeling that is so important in after life and is so painfully absent in Germany, not only in the masses but also among the well educated. The individual learns to subordinate himself to others; he learns to help his weaker and less talented companions, and understands for the first time that his own interests can, and must, merge into the interests of the whole body. From this joint-work with its well-considered plan and well-fitting order spring the civic virtues of devotion and self-control, and by means of it the domestic virtues of carefulness, conscientiousness, diligence, and perseverance are transformed into virtues of altruism. This joint-work is the fruitful soil for civic teaching on such subjects as the life of a community, its plan and order, and common tasks and duties in the workshop, on the farm, in the parish, the county, and the State. This joint-work is the character-forming foundation of civic teaching, which, for the majority of pupils, is simply thrown away unless the will is simultaneously trained. This side of practical work, so far as I can see, has been entirely overlooked by the apostles of manual training. Yet centuries ago there was a time in Germany

when the masters, not only of one trade but of many trades, felt the educative influences of work in common. It was the age in which Romanesque and Early Gothic cathedrals were built, in which work-people and masters combined in the plan of the whole, in which almost all the trades of a town united to construct those monumental edifices that have gained the undivided admiration of our time by the finished unity of their construction. If we could but understand the eloquent silence of these cathedrals our churches and our palaces would once more exert a gentle, harmonious, and exalting influence,[1] and the civic edifices—communes, districts, counties, and States—would benefit by the study. Perhaps also those persons would hold their peace who, though they gad about as the modern apostles of civic education, stigmatize the continuation school founded on practical work as an "anticipated technical school," declare it to be purposeless and impracticable, and look for complete salvation in civic instruction. When opposition of this nature springs from fear of the expense to be incurred the attitude is quite intelligible. But when parishes, from patriotic motives, are willing to organize their continuation schools so as to be thoroughly effective, the feeling of one's own civic responsibility should protect the attempts from opposition based on empty catchwords.

3. There are many parishes in the German Empire

[1] See also the report of the Mosely Education Commission, pp. 360-375.

in which such an organization as we have declared necessary is impracticable. We allude to the numerous county and market towns in which conditions do not favor the formation of a complete trade continuation school for any single occupation. In these cases we must pay more attention to the second method of work in common, which we have designated as the organization of school life on the lines of a self-governing society. We have already described an organization suitable for practical school work in large towns and villages with purely agricultural pursuits. With this organization our second method can be admirably, and with great advantage, connected. In fact, it is indispensable in the organization of continuation schools in small towns and marketplaces. How far the individual school can go depends on the personality of those in charge. There are many possibilities of forming an effective miniature organization, from the joint savings bank (in which savings are accumulated for a common purpose) to the American school-city of which Förster has given a detailed account in his book *Schule und Charakter.*

4. It is possible that joint savings banks might be established at all schools. From 1890 to 1893 I introduced one such in a class of boys, aged ten to fourteen, attending a Gymnasium. A small fine was imposed for any act of unintentional carelessness or forgetfulness, with the condition that the tenth fine carried with it a period of detention as an additional punishment.

One of the pupils, chosen month by month by the class, kept the accounts. The sum so raised was applied, by a committee of the pupils, to the purchase of material to illustrate the botany and zoölogy lessons. Incidentally it may be noticed that this method of treating minor delinquencies had a second educational effect in that the causes for complaint decreased when the tenth fine hove in sight. Few pupils were ever detained during the year, and only one was kept in twice. In a similar manner the director of the trade continuation school for upholsterers' apprentices in Munich established, a few years ago, a joint savings bank. In 1905 a poor but worthy pupil broke a looking-glass while removing goods, and had to make good the damage, ten marks. From this time onwards every pupil paid one pfennig weekly into a common fund which was administered by a committee chosen by the class. The money collected was employed to assist fellow-pupils in case of innocent misfortune. As soon as a claim was made the committee met to decide its validity. They expressed an opinion on the case to the director, who then authorized the treasurer to make the contribution and to apply it to the purpose noted. These joint school banks (*mutualités scolaires*) have been established in the primary schools of Paris since 1882. The report on the educational section of the Paris exhibition of 1900, page 207, says that the oldest of them is to be found in the nineteenth arrondissement, where it bears the title Société Cavé after its founder, a junior

commercial judge. Although in this case the tender age of the pupils excludes the possibility of management by them, the report does not doubt for a moment the value of the bank in civic training. *La mutualité* is nothing more than the application to practice of the social principle that isolation is a danger. It teaches us that our rights are limited by our duties, that a divided burden is easier to bear, and that nothing can save us from despair except the thought that our sufferings are not a matter of indifference to others. In short, nothing is more fitted than the *mutualité scolaire* to give rise to and maintain in the child a desire to save and a sense of obligation.[1]

In 1900 there were banks of this kind in sixteen arrondissements, and 24,217 members, with a capital of 107,256 francs.

5. The introduction of the principle of mutual assistance, the fundamental principle of all healthy self-government, is possible in the most varied school centers. An application of the principle, which is entirely free from all objection, is afforded by the establishment of school festivities and excursions, or gymnastic displays. In our school system we are too much accustomed to look upon pupils as in need of guardianship, whereas we all know that the age of discretion is only reached after we have slowly loosened the bands of discipline and accustomed the pupil to

[1] See also the author's *Grundfragen der Schulorganisation*, Second Edition, Leipzig, 1910 (B. G. Teubner), pp. 73-74.

grasp the reins of self-government continually tighter and with set purpose. To produce a moral personality, such a one as appraises itself by external standards, a school must be a social institute and not merely a factory for turning out brilliant individuals. But a social institute of any value cannot be maintained if laws and police regulations continually bar the way. An attempt must be made to make education gradually autonomous in the continuation school for boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen,—not indeed in that continuation school which is now in vogue in Germany. For in the latter nearly everything is wanting that will produce a proper moral spirit in the school, especially public opinion in the class. This moral class spirit thrives incomparably easier in such class organizations as we have introduced into Munich with their eight and ten hours of instruction a week, their work in common in workshops and laboratories, their intimate connection with masters' associations and readiness of masters to help, their uniform and thorough training of all pupils of the same trade and, not least of all, their introduction to sterling work. Only a school of this kind can guarantee that from the beginning a strong feeling of solidarity will pervade the class, a sentiment which easily expresses itself in a healthy public opinion.

Whether we can entrust our continuation schools with self-government of the highest degree, self-government in matters of administration and discipline,

as according to many reports is done in English and American schools, can be decided only after careful experiment. Those schools of England and America from which we derive our accounts of the educative influences of this final and highest form of the school state are either secondary day schools, corresponding to the German Gymnasien and Realschulen, or exclusively boarding schools. Regarding the latter, we have everywhere received, even from reformatory schools, excellent accounts of the coöperation of pupils in school government.

6. The intellectual and technical qualities of the trade to which the pupils belong determine to a great extent whether self-government can be introduced. In the continuation schools for commercial apprentices, for art and technical students, if anywhere, an attempt might be made, as these trades demand higher intellectual and moral qualities from the apprentice. The success of the experiment will however depend on the spirit which actuates the staff of these technical continuation schools, on the length of the course and the quality of instruction, and on the appreciation of the school which is developed in the pupil. When the school is not highly appreciated (and this is the case in most German continuation schools), any attempt of the nature indicated would increase difficulties instead of mitigating them. But pupils learn the more to appreciate the continuation school the more they progress in manual, technical, and artistic dexterity. It appears

to me a great piece of self-deception to believe that this appreciation can be insured by simple teaching—by oral and written work for from two to six hours a week. The only reason I can give for this self-deception is that the best secondary schools have sometimes achieved success with a whole class in this manner. Making all allowance for the kind of material with which the continuation school has to deal, we must not forget that the majority of apprentices seldom hear anything in favor of the continuation school, as at present constituted, from parents, masters, or journeymen, and frequently much that is hostile. Now if the continuation school does not meet the justifiably egoistic desire of the pupil to become a thoroughly efficient workman, if it even deceives him, as frequently happens during an apprenticeship, how is any appreciation of the school to find root? From this point of view we are again led to the conclusion that the most effective organization is doubtless that which allows the whole management of instruction and education to grow out of a systematic introduction to practical work. But when at last will Germany recognize this conclusion?

7. Even if it should be impossible to introduce self-government to any extent into the continuation school, such is not the case in the well-conducted and well-organized day technical institutes, where instruction, following our proposals, will deal not only with technical but also with intellectual and moral training.

It is everywhere to be noted that in all larger schools which fulfil a definite object there is in general a strong *esprit de corps* among the pupils. We can make excellent use of this feeling by founding an old boys' club, which will naturally conduct its own affairs. The director of the school may be the honorary president, and the school buildings may be placed at the disposal of members for their meetings. The necessary subscriptions, increased by voluntary contributions from business firms employing former pupils, and supplemented from national and local revenues, would furnish means for continuing civic and professional instruction beyond school age. The club could meet social requirements by holding evening social meetings. It could afford opportunities for physical exercise in gymnastic practices and excursions; it could encourage public spirit and thrift by forming savings banks; it could extend its influence by electing, as extraordinary members, the teachers on the staff or others who have attained to eminence in allied trades, or as workers among young people. Such a club would be a capital meeting place for the rising members of a trade who wish to remain in touch with their teachers and to increase the skill and knowledge they have gained at the school. In this way it would be a barometer for measuring the atmosphere of the school. It would be the natural source of the young men's associations to which contemporary thought has devoted so much attention. If it is to exercise a greater attraction it

would, in addition to the objects already mentioned, have to interest itself in the domestic and trade affairs of its younger members, especially by maintaining an employment bureau for their use. The bureau will be especially valuable when the director of the school is president of the club. For if the school has won a good name by its work, and earned the confidence of the trades for which it prepares, the task of placing pupils falls naturally on the director, whether an old boys' club exist or not. To make use of the office of president in this manner is a step which will be doubly rewarded. The club becomes attractive even to those who are disinclined to give attention to their further training, and the expectation of future help influences the performances of the pupil during his school career. Here, as elsewhere, public spirit eventually brings its own reward.

CHAPTER VII

THE NON-SCHOLASTIC EDUCATIVE FORCES

1. In the civic education of young people the principal burden is borne by the school, not because more effective means are wanting but because the school influences the greatest number. But those who are expected to supply the necessary energy—the educational authorities, whether national or local—work slowly. A talented personality, rich in knowledge, experience, and initiative, finds great obstacles in the way of his plans of organization, even when he occupies a most influential position, and many years must elapse before these obstacles are removed. Private enterprise acts in a much quicker manner, especially when large pecuniary resources are at the disposal of a man of ripe judgment. We have only to point to America, where in spite of accusations of a mercenary spirit wealthy individuals have shown a public-spirited interest in education which fills the European with envy and astonishment. But our educated middle classes are not deficient in understanding or aiding schemes for educating the people, and more particularly the young. People's training classes, university training classes, people's sanitary associations, are proof of the liberality, cheerful effort, and unselfishness of the learned

classes. Day-homes, apprentices' and shop girls' clubs, and young folks' clubs are a proof of the active interest in social problems taken by an educated middle class and by the clergy. But if greater success is to attend our efforts at civic education the number of those who recognize their social duties, especially among the wealthy classes, must be largely increased. For civic education only flourishes when the upper classes display a civic spirit. Devotion to social problems is not a favor that we show, but a duty that is incumbent upon us.

2. The most valuable assistance is of a personal nature, depending not so much on great intellectual talent or material wealth as upon a sympathetic disposition. An edifying example of this nature is afforded by the university settlements in England, above all by Toynbee Hall in London.[1] Only the deepest misery of multitudes, working secretly and destructively in the slums of London, could give rise to such a wondrous example of human kindness. Here from twenty to thirty young men, who are not able to call much their own except a good university education, live for months, occasionally years, together in a sort of exile

[1] The example of Toynbee Hall has found laudable imitation in Hamburg. Here the first settlement was founded in 1901. A second speedily followed, then a third, and a semi-colonial settlement. In 1907-1908 there were 201 persons engaged in the work of the settlements. Leipzig has also made a start recently in the same direction.

in order to devote themselves personally to the accomplishment of educational aims.[1]

"The spirit in which everything happens is the spirit of pure love of one's neighbor and of humanity without any of that patronage which gives but does not take, the spirit of brotherly friendship which is friendly because it seeks friendship. It fights against the isolation, the forsakenness, and the lost condition of the human soul in the great city. The aim and end of its endeavors is to awaken the spirit of true citizenship and genuine humanity and so to strengthen the power to live uprightly that the chilling effect of isolation may be replaced by a consciousness of community. Essays and lectures of all kinds, clubs, meetings for amusements, must therefore once more unite rich and poor. Behind everything there must be a personality, for without personal influence there is no lasting success. Neither school nor church, neither charity nor act of parliament, can do so much as one friend for another—as one man for another."[2]

3. The question thus arises, how is the disinterested activity of the German Bildungsvereine to be used for purposes of training the young citizen? So far as the Volksbildungsvereine are concerned, the Munich society has rightly met the situation by the foundation of such schools and educational institutions,

[1] English readers have only to be reminded of *Robert Elsmere* to find a more detailed account of the work and spirit of the settlements.

[2] Von Nostitz, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

for young people exempted from attendance at the primary school, as for the present neither State nor local authority is bound to furnish. A large number of clubs has already followed this example. In particular, the women's societies[1] have done good service by establishing courses of all kinds for the girls of the working classes. There is no doubt that the Volksbildungsvereine, being so thoroughly independent, can be of great service in this manner, especially when their schools are organized in the spirit of the principles we have laid down. They can work as pioneers of civic education by showing the way to the State and the local authority with their model institutions.

4. In the course of time one of the most productive spheres of work will be open to university extension societies and associations for popular hygiene in places where voluntary continuation schools have been established for young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty. There is urgent need here of capable teachers not only of social science and hygiene but also of German history, German literature, and art. They will find here an audience which from previous training and community of professional interests is fairly homogeneous, an audience desiring knowledge rather than amusement. If their lectures are a constituent part of the program they will be more successful,

[1] The Lette-Verein and the Pestalozzi-Fröbelhaus-Verein in Berlin are two model institutions of this nature which have exerted a great influence throughout Germany.

and the work of the lecturers will be much easier and more encouraging than it is with a mixed audience which demands amusement and information and has no common basis of culture. More professional zeal must be expected from the teaching body. For these purposes we require permanent lecturers, as in England, who are ready to deliver for a moderate fee a course, not six or twelve lectures of an hour each, but from forty to sixty, spread over a considerable length of time, and to treat their subject with sufficient detail. We must look for lecturers, like those in England and Denmark, who will not vanish into the clouds, like deities, at the close of their lectures, but find a pleasure in personal intercourse. Then we shall have the further satisfaction of knowing that the artisan is grateful and looks up to the thinker with confidence, and we shall see that *esprit de corps* develop which we regard as one of the fundamental aims of civic education.

5. In these senior schools for continuation pupils and young mechanics libraries can be formed to illustrate lectures and the course of practical instruction, as has been done with such success in the Zeiss-Abbé foundation, the Volksheim at Jena. Constant reference in lectures to the value of the library, and striking quotations from individual volumes, will direct the attention of the better pupils to the opportunities thus afforded them. Our public libraries, as they exist at present, are a valuable acquisition, dating from the latter part of the last century. But any one who

closely examines their working will soon discover that in using a library other assistance is necessary than that given in the catalogue, and that a library does its best work when used in connection with Bildungsvereine, or continuation schools. As it is becoming more and more the custom to print the best courses of lectures in cheap editions,[1] it will not be hard for the majority of schools to provide their libraries with books, models alike in form and content, which offer the not inconsiderable advantage of being closely related to the work of education.

6. The Bildungsvereine we have mentioned will not for a long time to come develop an educative influence comparable with what is possible in the gymnastic societies, if the treasury and the local authority grant the latter assistance. A systematic course of gymnastics forms a capital training both of the will and of the character. It is popular with those people to whom intellectual work appeals only so far as it bears on their future careers. When a club possesses such a means of increasing civic efficiency its value is enhanced by coöperation in the other educative and moral work of the club. For no club formed with a definite purpose can succeed without incidentally giving an education in unselfishness, self-denial, subordination, and cheerful coöperation. Now, according to their constitutions, the German gymnastic societies are centers for

[1] For example, the collection, "Natur und Geisteswelt," B. G. Teubner, Leipzig.

cultivating German patriotism, and membership is open to young people at an early age. Remote from party strife, they have for seventy years or more made "Love of the Fatherland" their motto. At great personal sacrifice, often without any public assistance, they have established themselves in all districts of Germany. In 1907 they had 809,000 adult members and almost 200,000 associates and junior members, enrolled in 7,787 clubs, with centers in 6,513 towns and villages. Ought we not to make every effort to utilize this organization further for the purposes of civic education? We have already mentioned the first and perhaps the most important way to this end:[1] the introduction of gymnastics, gymnastic displays, excursions—at first with optional attendance—in all our compulsory continuation schools, where efficient teachers from the gymnastic societies (preferably of the artisan class) will be responsible for instruction.

In all public gymnastic displays and excursions our pupils should be represented. As an acknowledgment of the services rendered by the gymnastic societies assistance should be given them from the national and the local treasuries, and the educated classes should also assist by becoming contributing members. For the maxim holds good of these societies that their tone is determined by the active participation of the educated members. Thus we shall succeed in finding support for the gymnastic societies in three ways: by

[1] Cf. Chap. V, sec. 7.

introducing young men who would benefit by attendance, by inducing educated people to become subscribing members, and by obtaining the moral and material support of the public authorities. This support is all the more necessary because the experience of large towns shows that in a society struggling with financial difficulties the members loyal to the constitution soon lose their lead and the society becomes the prey of political parties. The latter consider an education in the politics of the party, or of the caste, much more important than an introduction to good citizenship, and are thoroughly conscious of the educative influences and corporate instincts which characterize gymnastic societies. If we succeed in keeping the societies alive, large, and powerful there is no doubt that the majority of them will redouble their efforts as an acknowledgment of the support afforded and from a desire to fulfil the tasks allotted. Every manager of a continuation school will at once acknowledge the educative value of voluntary membership in a good gymnastic society for his pupils. The whole bearing of the pupil, his activity, his distinctive response to internal and external discipline, bear witness to the healthy influence. If any one of our readers has not yet observed this for himself we heartily recommend the study to him.

7. In Great Britain, where the value of physical exercise is more highly appreciated by the public than in Germany, the interest manifested by young people

in the corporate development of their physical powers has been employed in a remarkable manner to train those who would resist every other form of education. We allude to the boys' brigades, a thoroughly British institution which is not to be confounded with the French school cadet corps, an organization not altogether free from objection. In 1883 Sir William Smith founded a boys' company in Glasgow, the success of which led to speedy imitation. He proceeded on the supposition that young boys need discipline, and that the discipline represented by a military uniform is the simplest and most readily intelligible to the street Arabs of a large town. In 1900 there were eight hundred "companies" in Great Britain with three thousand "officers" and thirty-three thousand "soldiers." The greater part of the "soldiers" are errand boys and newspaper sellers. The officers belong to the upper classes; churchmen like the Archbishop of Canterbury, noblemen like the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Kinnaird, and field marshals like Lords Wolseley and Roberts, have been presidents. As a rule a company, which may number from thirty to a hundred boys, drills once a week. On parade the exercises are carried out in strict military fashion. At every drill the evening's work begins with an address and ends with a hymn. But the military character of the proceedings is a means, not an end. The aim is both religious and moral (the companies are connected with some church by their regulations). How far this ideal is reached

depends upon the officers, whose sacrifice of time and trouble is more valuable than their contributions, about 500£ in all per annum. In the companies clubs are formed for music, football, gymnastics, cricket, and swimming. First aid to the injured is taught, and in 1897 over a thousand boys passed an examination in it. The boys who join the company are thus enrolled for an education which otherwise they would have abhorred. "It is obvious," writes Von Nostitz, "what a blessing the Boys' Brigade has been to thousands of young people. The less didactic and sermonizing the officers are, the more they appear as friends and brothers ready to lend a helping hand to others, then the greater is their influence. A great advance, confirmed by many reports, has already been made, as the members of the lower classes learn once more to show respect and affection for the members of the upper classes and to consult them in the difficulties and temptations of life."[1] So far as civic education is concerned, the conditions obtaining in our German gymnastic societies are as favorable as those of the Boys' Brigade. They unite all social classes and subject the workman as well as the employer, the poor as well as the rich, to the same discipline. Moreover, many able and educated men are ready to make sacrifice of time and energy on their behalf. Many thousands of boys are already entrusted to the care of the gymnastic societies. It needs only the restoration of

[1] Von Nostitz, op. cit., p. 223.

the connection we have indicated and a generous support, by way of granting the use of grounds and buildings, to extend the educative work of these societies and to make them more productive. A considerable part of the patriotic spirit which animates people today is due to these societies. At a time when the national feeling was moribund they maintained it to the utmost. We are therefore fully convinced that if important problems of civic education should be offered to them they are certain to find a solution.

8. Where, as in the country, there is no gymnastic society, use may be made of the first-aid societies and the fire brigades. Among the men who in this manner do a great public service there will everywhere be found some who are fitted to conduct companies of young people and to inspire them with their own enthusiasm. In this manner it will be possible, side by side with the continuation school, to spread a further network of forces over the whole country, which no act of parliament could ever bring into existence. The results of this new system of forces may, in favorable circumstances, be even greater than those shown by any form of school instruction. For humanity and zeal, public spirit and liberality, develop quickest under the attraction of a living example, when opportunities for moral action are present in abundance. With this magic wand we draw civic virtue from every youthful heart that we touch.

9. So far we have mentioned only casually the

assured success attending the efforts of these societies to improve the capacity of our people for defense. To reach this part of our educational aim we must take into serious consideration the clubs mentioned. We do not allude so much to the all-round training of physical powers, which results from a systematic course of gymnastics, as to a training in self-control, perseverance, determination, and courage. Courage and determination are aptitudes of the will. The best history teaching which kindles the enthusiasm of a boy for the deeds of his ancestors will never produce these aptitudes if the boys have no opportunity to exercise their gifts. And what opportunities can be more favorable or less dangerous at this age than those afforded by a carefully planned course of gymnastic exercises? There is neither occasion nor necessity to discuss the proposition further, as we dealt with the importance of the education of the will and its connection with the education of the intellect in Chapter IV. A reader wishing to pursue the subject further should consult Konrad Koch's excellent work,[1] which deals exhaustively with the subject.

The value of courage and decision, perseverance and self-control, is not to be determined only from the part they play in making a people capable of self-defense. These qualities are not necessary in war alone. Without them we should never attain to high success in any walk of life. It is not to be expected

[1] *Die Erziehung zum Mute*, Berlin, 1900 (Gartner).

that the courage and self-control and determination which physical exercise produces would immediately make their appearance where moral questions arise. That is the great fallacy which is so often accepted nowadays. But where physical exercise has prepared the way in the education of the will, then the indispensable moral exercises which self-government and practical work offer us will find a cast of mind much readier to receive impressions.

10. If we pass in review the chief points of the system of civic education which we have already developed we see that it consists in strengthening the numerous educative forces of all kinds, in directing them to the same set purpose, and, if possible, in combining them into a firm system. We hope, moreover, that we have shown that such efforts can be successful without demanding too great sacrifices. For such a tangled system of forces printed regulations and systems are of secondary importance. What really matters is the spirit in which they are applied. To vivify and to maintain this spirit, to rouse it when absent, to conduct it by a thousand arms and channels to the lowest and most unassuming of continuation schools is, in our opinion, a task which it were best to entrust to a small commission from the best men of the empire, who might act as an imperial council of education. The functions of such a council need not be either legislative, administrative, or disciplinary. Just as the academies were formerly established as independent bodies

to promote the study of science, so may the council of education be the patron and guardian of the many-sided work of civic education. Its members would be men of proved ability in technology, agriculture, art, science, and military matters—men whose acquaintance with educational questions is shown by their talent, position, and inclination—men, that is, who regard their office as an honorable distinction. The council, once formed, could fill vacancies by coöption at all times. Special questions might be referred to extraordinary committees chosen from the highest educational authorities of the empire. The work of the council would not be to create any organization but to make suggestions, to indicate clearly prevailing views, and to preserve a unity of spirit in a variety of form. For this purpose it might, like the academies, meet in sections. It would establish its claim to consideration partly by the moral power of its prestige, partly by admitting extraordinary members drawn from the highest school authorities. Thus it might gradually become the pilot of a uniform national educational policy. At present no other means of preparing the way for such an educational policy is apparent. To form an imperial education office with great administrative powers appears neither possible nor desirable: not possible, because each individual state of the empire would strongly desire to preserve the freedom of its own education; not desirable, because this very freedom is a valuable source of experiment and

suggestion. It would be the duty of the ordinary members of the council to preserve unity of purpose in the midst of a variety of individual organizations, while the extraordinary members would supply a constant stimulus by making representations on behalf of the states electing them. The separate local authorities can be trusted to take excellent care of the schools committed to their charge, but when dealing with the policy for these schools they are sure to exhibit more or less prejudiced views, so that they entirely lose sight of the total effect to which their efforts should be subservient. This was plainly shown in our technical and agricultural schools and can be frequently noticed elsewhere. The interests of different groups of schools are frequently in conflict, and if one group obtains an advantage it is often at the expense of another. When the professional, administrative, and scientific qualifications of its members are beyond dispute an imperial council of education will be recognized as free from these prejudices. It can then prevent unfortunate occurrences, for it can deal with events in the impartial spirit which is absolutely necessary for the success of a broad-minded educational policy.[1]

[1] A consultative committee for England and Wales was established by the Board of Education Act of 1899, 62 and 63 Vict., Ch. 33, sec. 4.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. Any one who has followed our remarks with attention will see that they all point to the conclusion with which Schiller terminates the eighth of his letters on esthetic education:

"Any training of the intellect deserves attention only so far as it rests on the character—in a manner it proceeds from the character, because the way to the head is opened only through the heart. A cultivation of the powers of sensibility is thus the most pressing need of our time, not simply because it is a means of making an improved intelligence useful in life, but because it really leads to an improvement of the intelligence."

To awaken this power of sensibility in our young people, and to stimulate it so that it may preserve harmony and variety as much as possible, will be the best we are capable of. By following the paths we propose the young man will be furnished, according to his capacity, with information and knowledge. But the most valuable gift we bestow on him is not the equipment for civic life that is thus furnished. Our work of education will be immeasurably more valuable if we succeed in arousing in him the feeling that he ought to

be an active member of society, a feeling that has not yet been inspired in the primary school, because both maturity of thought and contact with public life are wanting. The feeling once excited will remain with him as a stimulus to the end of his days, spurring him on to acquire knowledge and to develop his character, and to appease the ever-increasing desire which has been kindled by our early efforts.

2. The work, however, is both difficult and of great magnitude when the pupil is not completely entrusted to us—when the tangled conditions of our modern, social, and economic existence often upset the best of our intentions and the most carefully conceived of our plans. In the struggle for their daily bread thousands of families must make a compromise between the duty of feeding their children and the duty of educating them. Thousands more completely neglect the duty of educating them. It sometimes seems as if it would be best to follow Fichte and let the State take over the whole task of education. But without considering the objection that the work of all young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen cannot suddenly be withdrawn from the active life of a single State, it would indeed be a serious matter to strengthen the egoism of hundreds of families by taking away from them one of the most sacred of their duties and the very best means that remains for the education of the adult himself.

3. But all men cannot be educated to the same extent.

As there are differences of intellectual capacity, so there are differences of will and temperament. We see scholars with little will power, sensitive, effeminate temperaments with slender intellects, unteachable, pig-headed fellows with cold, savage wills. Our educational efforts will be especially liable to be doomed to disappointment in the case of those boys who have been thrust into an unskilled trade by want of brain power or by social necessity. We must be contented, meanwhile, if our efforts make the way easier for the average capable boy to acquire that proficiency which a State founded on principles of freedom must demand from its citizens. If only the majority of citizens are properly inspired the others must be restrained by legal measures or by force.

4. We must not forget that the development, or rather the maintenance, of a healthy State is by no means guaranteed when we have provided only for good educational arrangements. This is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. The maintenance of the State is conditioned by a number of financial and social relations—the very educational system of a State is more or less a reflection of the views, arising out of these relations, of those who have the power to fashion it. If the dream of the Social Democrats' ideal state is ever fulfilled, then, in spite of a working day reduced at a stroke from eight to six hours, millions of families will be thrust out of the work of education, and on the ruins of the old altars of education will

arise the modern educational barracks of the nation. Will these maintain the ideal State or assist its development? In England, where the Manchester school with its *laisser faire, laisser passer* controlled all power and influence for more than half a century, both the character and the teaching of the schools were until quite recently subject to a free trade régime. A more incomplete educational system was not to be found in any thriving country in Europe. But the English have become more and more conscious of the necessity of giving up these views. The establishment of schools of all kinds, at least of such schools as affect the masses, is becoming more and more a national affair. At the present moment a proposal lies before the English parliament to make attendance at the continuation schools compulsory for all boys and girls in England and Wales between the ages of fourteen and seventeen.[1] And this, though attendance at the public primary school has been compulsory since 1870 only.

[1] The bill presented (March 16, 1909) bore the following preamble: "The object of this bill is to make school attendance compulsory for all children not exceeding fourteen years of age, and also to make attendance at day continuation schools compulsory for all children whose age exceeds fourteen but does not exceed seventeen years, who are not otherwise being systematically educated. The minimum attendance demanded at continuation schools is fixed at six hours per week, and both parents and employers are placed under penalties to secure the due attendance of the continuation scholars for whom they are responsible. No fees are to be charged. Local authorities are allowed to coöpt local employers for the purposes of the administration of the measure. The system of continuation schools, which this bill seeks to enact, is practically the same as that which is in successful operation in Munich."

On the other hand, France introduced in 1883 a national system of education, in the opinion of its authors excellently conceived. This system is now maintained at great cost, and efforts are being made to extend it. But this has not prevented the simultaneous establishment of a powerful school system by the churches which has developed in such a manner that the national and the church systems have practically killed all private enterprise among the laity. Has this been a blessing to the civic education of the French? Did not the State think it necessary to close all the church schools in order to maintain the constitution?

It is far from our purpose to question the necessity of good rival educational arrangements. What we seek to make plain is that the health of the State is molded by many forces, that the best system of education is not devoid of shortcomings, and that therefore no complete system will ever be permanent for any length of time.

5. Above all, it is a great mistake to imagine that educational arrangements can be made for certain classes of the people without taking into account the remainder. Nothing is so expensive, or such a complete fool's paradise, as the want of a broad-based educational policy. This is a fruitful source of our mistakes. Some people are to-day tinkering the grammar schools, others the technical, others again the primary schools, while still others try their hands on the training colleges. The secondary schools are organized on a

foundation of pure intellectualism and idealism. On the other hand, the form given to the technical schools is purely utilitarian. It is completely forgotten that man does not live by bread alone and that his utility is not to be measured only by skill in drawing, calculating, planing, chiseling. In all German states excellent schools have existed for a long time for the learned and the higher technical professions. Within the last ten or twenty years we have become conscious that the immense mass of workmen and farmers absolutely requires a further education beyond what is provided for them in the primary school. We are only just beginning to understand that the education of women has been almost entirely overlooked. Every care is bestowed on the public schools which are maintained by the State and by the local authority, but there are thousands of private schools without strict State supervision, and in many cases there is a dislike to impose it.

6. Neighboring States and international communications may assist or hinder our attempts at civic education. This may result directly from immigration, from literary intercourse, or from exercise of arts; indirectly, from economical and political relations. But in all these cases we are almost entirely helpless in the matter. Just as in the thirteenth century French customs, art, and literature gained the most advantageous influence on the life of the German people, so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the life of the

French court morally corroded first our princes and afterwards our middle classes. And just as the North American War of Independence strengthened mightily the revolutionary tendencies of the French people, so the French Revolution itself, almost at one blow it may be said, completely altered the whole of our views as to the relations between the State, the prince, and the people. International intercourse in literature is now of quite incalculable influence. In the same manner as in private family life, neighbors void of moral purpose may do the greatest possible damage here to the tender plants which we have trained with so much care and at such sacrifice.

7. We have one means of protection left: the firmness of character and the clearness of view which characterize the upper classes. For it is they who are first attacked by the strange fungus growth, and the millions of spores thus produced spread over the land and destroy the very vigor of the people. This fact reminds us once more of the necessity for a school policy on a large scale. The best educational arrangements for the lower classes would be of little use to us if we did not provide at least as carefully, if possible better, for the upper classes. The upper classes are, and will remain, the educators of the people. As the master so will be the servant, and as the teacher so will be the pupil. If we are wanting morally the pupil will be by no means perfect; if we are hostilely inclined to religion the pupil will also be so; if we indulge in

material enjoyment we shall preach thrift and temperance in vain. We cannot expect more devotion to our interests and to those of the State than what we ourselves show to the interests of the lower classes and to the affairs of the State.

Thus also Von Nostitz says: "For the development of the internal relations of our national life the intrinsic value of the upper classes is most important, even decisive. They deserve to disappear if they are weakly contented to shake their heads and futilely to deplore the future instead of helping to maintain the State by their energy, confidence, and generosity, to shape the domestic life of the people by applying high purposes to practical ends, and to do their utmost so long as the time is propitious. They deserve to be swept away if with shameless selfishness they are content to sit alone at the table of life and are foolish enough to believe that they can for all time keep the masses away by force when they have once taught them that enjoyment is the end of life. For it is the experience of history that the views of the lower classes are modeled on those of the upper. The question is, will the wealthy classes continue to be the leaders when they have ceased to be the rulers? For we shall remain only what we are, and reason and justice govern the lives of men and nations."

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